Anthropomorphic Figurines from the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Aegean

Gender Dynamics and Implications for the Understanding of Aegean Prehistory

Volume I: Text

by

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For my sister Νίκη

This thesis examines the subject of gender in Neolithic and Early Bronze Age (EBA) communities of the Aegean as revealed through a systematic study and analysis of anthropomorphic figurines. It particularly concentrates on the aspect of gender construction through symbolism and embodied practices as is suggested by the use, as well as the representational analysis of anthropomorphic figurines. By examining the aspect of gender and its dynamics, my thesis aims to explore the social organisation of Neolithic and EBA communities in the Aegean and how, in the light of my research, we need to review our understanding and interpretation of early Aegean prehistory.

The thesis is organised into eight chapters. *Chapter 1* presents a short introduction to my research topic and clarifies certain decisions behind the proposed theoretical and methodological approach. *Chapter 2* provides a review of earlier works on the study of anthropomorphic Aegean figurines and a summarised introduction to Neolithic and EBA cultures of the Aegean. In *Chapter 3* I present and explain my decisions behind my theoretical approach and I explore, in particular, the relevant subjects of symbolic material culture as studied in the framework of gender archaeology. The final section presents the particular research questions that my thesis sets out to answer. *Chapter 4* offers a detailed account of the methodology I have chosen to follow and how I have applied it for the purposes of my research. *Chapters 5* and *6* give a detailed presentation of the analysis and its results on Neolithic and EBA figurines respectively. *Chapter 7* discusses the results in the framework of gender archaeology and suggests new interpretations regarding gender and social organisation in the Neolithic and EBA and what the transition from one period to the other entailed. Finally, *Chapter 8* stresses the contribution of my research to the knowledge of early Aegean prehistoric society, the need to review earlier interpretations and its impact on future works in Aegean social prehistory and figurine studies.

The thesis is also accompanied by a CD-ROM which contains a concordance of the Neolithic and EBA figurines comprising the sample under study. The fields that have been included offer information related to their source of publication, as well as their site and area of recovery. Photographs or sketches of the figurines have also been included, apart from the cases of specimens that were too fragmented to be categorised under any of the sex categories.

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I also wish to thank all my friends whose love and support saw me through the 'journey' when the sea was turbulent and the shore barely visible on the horizon!

As has been eloquently expressed in a poem by Kavafis,

> "Ithaca has given you the beautiful voyage.
> Without her you would never have taken the road.
> .....
> With the great wisdom you have gained, with so much experience,
> you must surely have understood by then what Ithacas mean." *

* *The Complete Poems of Cavafy*, tr. by R Dalven. London, 1976.

Abbreviations and Dating Conventions

Chronological periods:

Acer.	Aceramic
E	Early (Neolithic)
EBA	Early Bronze Age
EB (I, II, III)	Early Bronze (I, II, III)
EC (I, II, III)	Early Cycladic (I, II, III)
EH (I, II, III)	Early Helladic (I, II, III)
EM (I, II, III)	Early Minoan (I, II, III)
EN (2, 3)	Early Neolithic (2, 3)
Fn	Final (Neolithic)
F/E	Final (Neolithic)/Early Bronze Age
FN	Final Neolithic
L	Late (Neolithic)
LBA	Late Bronze Age
LM	Late Minoan
LN	Late Neolithic
M	Middle (Neolithic)
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
MM (I, II, III)	Middle Minoan (I, II, III)
MN	Middle Neolithic
PPNA	Pre-pottery Neolithic A
PPNB	Pre-pottery Neolithic B

Geographical regions:

C. Mainland	Central Mainland (in text)
CM	Central Mainland (in tables)
Cr	Crete
Cy	Cyclades
Do	Dodecanese
EA	East Aegean

Eu	Euboia
Mc	Macedonia
Pel	Peloponnese
Sp	Sporades
Th	Thessaly
Thr	Thrace

Contextually specific:

BS	burial site
BS?	"said to be" burial site
CS	cave sites
HS	habitational strata
Nk	not known
OS	open-air settlement

Figurine-related classification:

A	Asexual
Amb	Ambiguous
F	Female
FAF	Folded-Arm Figurine(s)
Ff	Female form
M	Male
na	non-applicable
PA	Probably Asexual
PF	Probably Female
Pff	Probably Female form
PM	Probably Male

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The main focus of my research is the study and exploration of gender in the early periods of Aegean prehistory (the Neolithic and EBA periods, as opposed to the later Minoan and Mycenaean Palace periods). More specifically, I seek to demonstrate the ways in which gender was dynamically constructed, enacted and negotiated in the sphere of symbolic and empirical world in the early prehistoric communities of the Aegean. I set out to offer interpretations through the systematic analysis of anthropomorphic figurines of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Aegean. The objective of my research is to critically review earlier interpretations, and, more importantly, to explore the implications resulting from my analysis and proposed interpretation for the understanding of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age societies of the Aegean.

The chronological and geographical parameters that demarcate my field of research are defined as follows. The regions covered in my study coincide with the borders of the modern state of Greece, consisting therefore of its geographical divisions of mainland [Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, Sterea Ellada (Central Mainland) and the Peloponnese] and insular (Ionian islands, isles of the North and East Aegean, the Sporades, Euboia, the Cyclades, the Dodecanese and Crete) districts. I am aware of the artificial separation that I have imposed on the data by delineating modern Greece from the surrounding Balkan and Anatolian prehistoric cultures, but the completion of my thesis would not have been feasible otherwise. I would argue, however, that the data seem to indicate that especially the fringes of the region under study echo patterns that characterise the bordering cultures of the Balkans and Anatolia which allows me an insight into the existing variety of figurine typology and gender implications in the wider cultural environment of the Aegean. Moreover, I have been careful not to consider a cultural homogeneity for the Aegean regions under investigation, avoiding therefore the assumption that the Aegean as a whole can be studied as a uniform cultural unit.

As far as chronology is concerned, the relevant range is that which is conventionally used in Aegean prehistory. I will present the chronological ranges in their broad terms because this is how I have applied them in my work in my search for wider patterns that allow me a comparison between and within the extended span of the Neolithic and EBA periods. As will also become apparent, however, for reasons of convenience and for maximum results enabled through a comparative analysis, I have sometimes opted to merge phases together.
Starting with the Neolithic period, the chronology for the mainland and insular Aegean, and its sub-phases phases in cal. B.C. is as follows:

Aceramic: ca. 6800 - 6500
Early Neolithic: ca. 6500 - 5800
Middle Neolithic: ca. 5800 - 5300
Late Neolithic: ca. 5300 - 4500
Final Neolithic: ca. 4500 - 3200
(Demoule & Perlès 1993)

In the case of the EBA period the dates for its sub-phases in cal. BC are the following:

EB 1: 3100/3000 - 2700/2650
EB 2: 2700/2650 - 2200/2150
EB 3: 2200/2150 - 2050/2000
(Manning 1995)

The decision to apply a gender approach to Aegean prehistory also deserves a brief explanation. My first acquaintance with gender archaeology goes back to the period of my undergraduate degree and I was immediately intrigued by the new scope and opportunities it opened up to archaeologists, an outcome of its innate quality to challenge modern stereotypes and prejudices that have come to shape our interpretations. Admittedly, gender archaeology also appealed to my political agenda which was oriented against the predominant male-dominated narratives of history and archaeology, often omitting women altogether, or, in the best of cases, presenting a genderless or faceless past. More specifically, my decision to apply a gender approach to the Aegean prehistoric record came after the realisation that, despite the proliferated

application of a gender approach in the archaeologies of other regions, archaeological research in the context of the early prehistoric Aegean was still lacking. Furthermore, the period of the Neolithic had also been loaded with notions of an idealised past, the "Garden of Eden" that so often was proclaimed in the works of the Mother-Goddess supporters. In contrast, the EBA period of the Aegean was regarded (and still is to a large extent) as the period that marked the beginnings of the patriarchal social order, the "emergence of civilisation" (to borrow the term used by Renfrew in his pioneering book of 1972), almost a synonym for the notions of social complexity and gender relations that we have come to recognise today in our modern western culture. Though I detect a recent shift towards a more critical awareness in the discussions of the Aegean EBA period, there is still a need for more systematic re-examination of the data in the light of gender archaeology. My research, therefore, aims to propose a new viewpoint for the EBA society of the Aegean, while at the same time detecting shifts from the Neolithic period at the level of gender roles and relationships in an altering socio-economic environment.

As for the use of anthropomorphic figurines as a medium through which I could infer gender roles and relations in the Neolithic and EBA Aegean, their human shape and symbolic character made them the ideal candidate for such an exercise. In addition, their unbroken usage throughout both periods, as well as their quantity and extent over most of the Aegean, allowed me to trace shifts in gender symbolisms in the Neolithic and EBA on one level, and gain a representative view of prehistoric Aegean communities on the other. The use of published data only was necessary, especially in the light of prevailing attitudes surrounding the study of excavated archaeological material, and anthropomorphic figurines, in particular, in Greece. I believe, however, that the sheer quantity of the data recorded in my database (1,661 in total), as well as the tendency to publish illustrations of greatly valued objects, such as anthropomorphic figurines, renders my results highly representative. As I explain later, a different tactic was followed for the recording of EC figurines which aimed at ensuring the validity of my interpretation. Finally, I would like to add that, apart from visiting museum exhibitions that included Neolithic and EBA figurines, I have also had the chance to visit the British School at Knossos where I was able to examine a small collection of unpublished Neolithic figurines that were recovered from the 1969-1970 season of excavations at Knossos. Those figurines have not been included in my database because they were studied after the recording and analysis of my published data. In addition, they did not

exhibit features that would have altered in any way the patterns that I had already detected in my sample.

I hope that the results of my analysis and interpretation will offer new opportunities for the study of Aegean prehistoric figurines away from their confinement into the field of religion or art history, and will propose a fruitful approach and methodology which treats figurines no differently from other types of archaeological data, as an expression of material culture with a symbolic dimension, and at the same time bridging the artificial gap between the Neolithic and EBA assemblages. The implications of my research also contribute to a new viewpoint of early prehistoric Aegean society through the prism of gender archaeology, which keeps Aegean archaeology up-to-date with recent theoretical and methodological trends; more importantly, the findings of my research will call for a review of long-held stereotypes that are still applied to Aegean prehistory.

Chapter 2

SETTING THE BACKGROUND

This chapter provides the background information against which I will later present my analysis, results and proposed interpretation. It is divided into three sections: Part *I* presents a historical and critical review of earlier interpretations of Neolithic and EBA Aegean anthropomorphic figurines in terms of methodological and theoretical approaches which will allow me to place my own research in the wider framework of figurine studies in early Aegean prehistory. Part *II* provides a critical appraisal of the previous studies of figurines and gender in the field of prehistoric Aegean, Mediterranean (central and eastern) and Balkan archaeological studies. Finally, Part *III* will focus on a summarised discussion of the Neolithic and EBA Aegean culture and the specific aspects of the transitional phase and the resulting social and gender implications, which will allow me to place the figurines in their wider socio-cultural context.

I. REVIEW OF EARLIER WORKS ON NEOLITHIC AND EBA AEGEAN ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINES

Neolithic Figurines

The study of Neolithic figurines from the Aegean has become more systematic in the last twenty years. The earliest references, apart from a casual mention in excavation reports as finds of special interest, comprise their inclusion in illustrated catalogues of early prehistoric Aegean art and culture. Such is the case of the two volumes by Zervos (1957, 1962) which present the figurines among other "outstanding" artefacts regarding the skill required and the expressed aestheticism. Such listings, however, lacked a systematic and critical discussion of the meaning and symbolism of figurines. A similar line of approach was followed by Thimme (1977), who again placed figurines in an exhibition catalogue of distinctive finds from prehistoric Cyclades.

A different line of approach divorced figurines from their fruitless appreciation as art objects, and aimed to integrate them in the wider interpretation and understanding of Neolithic culture. Neolithic Aegean figurines were integrated in studies based on the theory of the Mother-Goddess, widely advocated by Gimbutas (1982, 1989), despite their fundamentally problematic assumptions. In summary, Gimbutas interpreted the female figurines from the Neolithic strata of 'Old Europe' [extending from the Aegean and Adriatic, mainland and insular, as far north as Czechoslovakia, southern Poland and the western Ukraine (Gimbutas 1974,17)] as testifying to the existence of a female-based cult, part of a matrifocal past. Since the Aegean was part of 'Old Europe', Greek Neolithic figurines were approached along the same lines, as in the case of the Achilleion assemblage (Gimbutas 1989). A reaction to the Mother-Goddess hypothesis was the work by Ucko (1968), which even though dated earlier than the main works by Gimbutas, was nevertheless contemporary and later than the evangelists of the idea, as expressed by the archaeologists Nilsson (1927), Crawford (1957), Von Cles-Reden (1960), Vermeule (1964) and Hawkes (1968). The work by Ucko represents the first systematic study of Aegean figurines with the aim of approaching them as symbolic material culture, but also of dispelling the matrifocal myth for Neolithic society. The anthropological approach adopted

by Ucko provided some possible uses for these figurines, as opposed to the ritual usage which was being suggested up to that point.

A number of other works also concentrated solely on the systematic study of Neolithic anthropomorphic figurines with a focus on their typology and their technical aspects, as well as their interpretation on a secondary level. This category of works is represented by Hourmouziadis (1973), Marangou (1992), Orphanidi (1998) and Talalay (1983). Though such works are useful for the systematic recording of trends regarding the form, circulation and manufacture of figurines, they lacked the necessary interpretative leap which would render figurines as a meaningful category in our quest for the understanding of Neolithic Aegean culture. My main criticism of such works is that the construction of typological and formal patterns are never enough even for the study of utilitarian artefacts, let alone objects of a symbolic character. If the establishment of trends is not followed by an in-depth discussion of what these objects communicated, we are faced with a sterile presentation of statistics which carry little meaning for the understanding of past societies. Though there is a move away from such approaches for the study of Neolithic figurines from other parts of Europe, in the case of the Aegean, the main representative of a more critical and theorised discussion of this category of artefacts is Talalay, who, after her thesis (1983), progressed to express through her work more complex ideas. Her later published work (1987, 1991, 1993, 2000, 2005) is concerned with the symbolic dimension embodied by the figurines and touched upon the issues of social organisation and negotiation, economic mechanisms, power and gender. In the context of the new wave of studies which emerged mainly in the early nineties, are the isolated works by Orphanidi (1992) (Orphanidis-Georgiadis in Bibliography) and that by Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou (1993, 1997) which explored the link between female figurines and the place of women in Neolithic Aegean societies.

In conclusion, the majority of earlier works on Neolithic figurines from the Aegean either became part of the Mother-Goddess debate, or concentrated on typological and formalised aspects with little discussion of their symbolic dimension beyond their ceremonial use. Since the early nineties, however, and as gender archaeology offered a new avenue for the understanding of social organisation, prehistoric figurines from areas such as the Balkans, Anatolia, Cyprus and Italy were interpreted as symbolic material culture which carried important messages for the construction and reflection of early societies (see Bailey 1994a,

1994b, 1996, 2005; Bolger 1996, 2003; Campo, a, 1994; Chapman 2000, 2001; Frankel 1997; Gallis 2001; Hamilton 2000; Hitchcock 1997; Holmes & Whitehouse 1998; Kokkinidou & Nikolaidou 1993, 55-63; 1997; Langdon 1999; Lee 2000; Whitehouse 2001). It is precisely in this academic context that we need to place works by Talalay and others. Even though such approaches are limited in the sphere of Neolithic Aegean figurines, I am optimistic that more such critical works will emerge which will throw light on some of the fundamental issues regarding the social organisation and symbolic order of the early inhabitants of the Aegean.

EBA Figurines

In the case of the Aegean EBA figurines, the route that has been followed for their study differs from that for their Neolithic counterparts, despite a similar preoccupation with the issue of typology. As far as the differences are concerned, EBA figurines have been approached from an art historical perspective with an emphasis on their aesthetic attributes. The Cycladic figurines, in particular, have been selected as the central category which has received the attention of most of the researchers. This bias can be explained as a result of the artistic value that Cycladic figurines have been loaded with and the tendency to interpret them as a diachronic expression of human art rather than archaeological finds (for a similar approach see Doumas 2002, 13, 91). Moreover, Cycladic figurines have also been declared as the first form of European art and a greatly contributing force to Art in general (see Papathanassopoulos 1981, 181; Petrasch 1977, 9; Renfrew 1977a, 30; Renfrew 1977b, 70; Renfrew 1991, 187; Thimme 1977, 11), which in addition to the art market value that has been attached to them, has further hindered the study of Aegean EBA figurines in general. As a result of the emphasis placed on Cycladic figurines, they have been divorced from the wider Aegean context in terms of the social and symbolic meaning they expressed in contemporary communities and cultural groups.

The trends that characterised the analysis of EBA figurines are summarised as follows. The main tendency has been to view figurines through an art historical perspective with an emphasis on typology, mainly represented by the works of Getz-Preziosi (1987a, 1987b, 1994; Getz-Gentle 2001), Renfrew (1977b, 1991) and Zervos (1957). In other cases, the

works by Renfrew (1969) and Sapouna-Sakellaraki (1983) have aimed to create a typological schema for the development of the figurines, an attempt that has been heavily criticised, mainly on the basis of its evolutionary approach and Renfrew's selective use of specimens (Broodbank 1992, 545; Gill & Chippindale 1993, 627-8). Other researchers have opted for a more cautious approach, which avoids the explicit art historical perspective, but nevertheless does not study links between the manufacture of figurines and their social symbolism. The comments on the social dimension of figurines are implied and limited, which indicates that again figurines are treated as a specialist field of research, isolated from their cultural context. Representative works of this kind have been compiled by Fitton (1984b, 1989) and Marangou (C, 1992, 1996, 1997a, 1997b). Finally, a very common tactic for most of these studies has been the inclusion of unprovenanced figurines (potentially forged) in the discussion of both typologies and meaning, e.g. the general assumptions regarding categories such as the 'hunter-warrior' or 'musicians'. A reaction to the approaches by Getz-Preziosi and Renfrew, in particular, has been expressed by Broodbank (1992) and Gill and Chippindale (1993) who urged a more cautious study of the Cycladic corpus, away from the aestheticism and the modernist ideas that colour our understanding of figurines as symbolic objects. Notable exceptions have been the recent publications by Broodbank (2000, 58-65; 2000, 247-275), Hoffman (2002) and Papadatos (2003) which for the first time indicate a move away from the traditional approaches to EC figurines and express a concern with the social processes involved.

In conclusion, the study of the EBA figurines largely lacks a critical approach and is still very much part of the art historical tradition, which has resulted in the exclusion of figurines from the discussions of social organisation in the early Aegean. Moreover, the modern biases regarding gender relationships, and also art, have coloured the interpretations of the EBA figurines and have led to a number of unfounded androcentric assumptions. Unlike the Mother-Goddess ideas that have characterised the study of Neolithic figurines, therefore, in the case of the EBA, there is an implied acceptance of Gimbutas' interpretative scheme, by arguing for the rise of male dominance. Finally, there have been no works that aim to bridge the gap between Neolithic and EBA figurines (with the exception of Marangou, C, 1992 who has concentrated on the corpus of the LN and EBA periods). The divide between the two categories is maintained and this further perpetuates a differentiation between nature and culture as expressed through the

approaches employed for the study of Neolithic and EBA Aegean figurines. The notions of nature and culture have become relevant in the study of figurines through the implicit or explicit associations with Neolithic matrifocal and EBA patriarchal social organisations respectively, thus further propagating an artificially imposed dichotomy which obstructs the understanding of prehistoric societies. While the way Neolithic Aegean figurines are studied has shown a concern with the social symbolic aspects of figurines, EBA figurines are still kept outside contemporary debates in the field of social archaeology, although Minoan figurines *have* been included in studies approached from a gender perspective. I wish to take the published works by Broodbank (2000, 58-65, 247-275), Hoffman (2002) and Papadatos (2003) as indications that a new era for research for the EBA figurines has started which will be concerned more with the symbolic aspects of figurines and less with their formal attributes. The gap between Neolithic and EBA figurines, however, still remains to be bridged and this is where my own research differs from previous approaches, among other things. The study of a class of artefacts that was being continually produced from the Aceramic Neolithic until the very end of the EBA affords us a unique chance to detect and follow social changes that affected the way people related to each other and categorised their world and themselves in the early prehistoric Aegean.

II. EARLIER INTERPRETATIONS OF FIGURINES AND IMPLIED COMMENTS ON GENDER IN EARLY PREHISTORY

Neolithic figurines in the Aegean and beyond

As I have already pointed out, the two main lines of approach for the study of Neolithic figurines of Europe, and of the Aegean in particular, can be explained in terms of the Mother-Goddess theory and its polemics. In the first case, Gimbutas stands as the main evangelist of the proposal that the predominance of female figurines in Neolithic contexts attest to the existence of a cult worshipping the Mother-Goddess. Gimbutas, therefore, but also other scholars (Nillson 1927; Vermeule 1964), have interpreted figurines as representations of this Goddess, serving a ritual function, while the resulting implications regarding gender have been that the Neolithic period was organised on a matriarchal, or at least matrifocal basis, where women enjoyed an especially high social status.

On the other hand, Ucko (1968), but also more recent works by a number of scholars, have followed a different interpretative line whereby figurines do not offer support for a Mother-Goddess cult and cannot, therefore, be equated with a matriarchal/matrifocal past. In contrast to the Mother-Goddess theory, anthropomorphic figurines from the Neolithic Aegean and other parts of SE Europe have been approached as symbolic material culture which either reflected a preoccupation with women's social and economic role in Neolithic culture (Hamilton 1996, 2000; Kokkinidou & Nikolaidou 1993, 55-63; 1997; Orphanidis-Georgiadis 1992; Whitehouse 2001), or operated as active political symbols in the process of gender construction and negotiation, even in situations of gender inequality (Bailey 1994a, 1996). Moreover, the deliberate fragmentation of figurines (depending on the need to emphasise elements of maleness, femaleness or bisexuality) has also been seen as revealing changes in the gender associations of material culture and in the gender of the figurine itself (Chapman 2000, 78, 79). As far as the use of the figurines is concerned in the Neolithic Aegean, a number of suggestions have been put forward on the basis of ethnographic evidence, including their employment as dolls (Bailey 2005; Kokkinidou & Nikolaidou 1997; Talalay 1993; Ucko 1968), ancestral images or portraits (Bailey 2005; Gallis 2001; Kokkinidou & Nikolaidou 1993, 60; 1997; Talalay 1993), protective charms

(Talalay 1993), votives (Bailey 2005; Gallis 2001), pedagogic tools (Kokkinidou & Nikolaidou 1993, 60; 1997; Ucko 1968) or items related to sympathetic magic (Kokkinidou & Nikolaidou 1993, 60; 1997; Ucko 1968). Alternatively, figurines found in settlements have also been interpreted as objects which served to establish social contacts between communities in the form of contracts (Talalay 1987), or, when found in LN burials, figurines secured rights over land resources and community territories (Talalay 1991). More recently, Chapman (2000, 2001) has postulated that the fragmented state of figurines and their deliberate deposition and circulation in the Balkans indicates their use in the process of 'enchainment', whereby relations are maintained between the living and the dead, but also between the living members of the same or distant communities.

EBA figurines in the Aegean and beyond

The main difference from approaches used for the study of Neolithic figurines is that Early Cycladic figurines have been selected over all other EBA Aegean figurine assemblages (on the basis of their distinctive aesthetic attributes) as the earliest representations of European art (see Getz-Preziosi 1987a, 1987b, 1994; Renfrew 1977a, 1977b, 1991; Papathanassopoulos 1981). This art historical approach and the uncritical study of unprovenanced figurines has been rightly criticised by a number of scholars on the grounds that such perspectives hinder their analysis as products of their cultural context, while the indiscriminate discussion of possibly forged figurines 'contaminates' our understanding of these artefacts and further supports the illicit trade of antiquities (Broodbank 1992, 2000; Gill & Chippindale 1993; Sherratt 2000).

In interpretations of EBA figurines, in contrast to the Neolithic, there has been no explicit discussion in a gender archaeological framework on social organisation and the study of gender through the analysis of figurines. There seems to be a casual suggestion as to what figurines may tell us about gender as a sideline to prehistoric religious systems, while at the same time there is a strong tendency to fit gender-related suggestions into a preconceived model of a male-dominated EBA society. I have been able to distinguish two main lines of thought, the more common proposing that female figurines represent divinities or religious symbols, without further discussion concerning the gender implications of such statements,

while others have gone further to suggest that figurines indicate a status differentiation between men and women, with the latter subordinate. There seems to be a lack of critical awareness of how the evidence might support such statements or what implications might result from such androcentric conclusions, which has also been encouraged by the art historical approach that has prevailed up to now. The interpretation of figurines and gender in EBA Aegean society almost followed along the lines of Morgan's (1877) and Engels' (1884) evolutionary stages, marking a shift from the matriarchal Neolithic to the emergence of patriarchy with the advent of the EBA (an argument which has also been supported by Gimbutas in her Mother-Goddess theory).

In the first line of interpretations of figurines as female divinities, there is no elaboration on the implications for our understanding of gender in the EBA Aegean (see Fitton 1989, Gesell 1985, Höckmann 1977, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1983, Warren 1973, Xanthoudides 1918, Zervos 1957). Not necessarily contradicting the first interpretative line is the suggestion that figurines (mainly Cycladic or of Cycladic type) indicate a power and status differentiation between men and women. Such interpretations have been based on the discussion of unprovenanced pieces ('hunter-warrior' figurines), or on selected specimens, while excluding their female or asexual parallels (seated female figurines, sexless 'musicians') (see Getz-Preziosi 1987a, 1994; Zervos 1957).

A different category of interpretations is characterised by an unwillingness to acknowledge the reality of representations that have been traditionally viewed as signs of 'male power' and thus figurines that are obviously marked anatomically as female, have been interpreted as "male warriors" (e.g. Zervos 1957), or as seated male divinities (e.g. Marinatos 1933). The same trend characterises the work of other scholars, but because the figurines in question do not have a safe provenance, I have chosen to leave them out of the present discussion. It is characteristic, however, how, as in the case of the Vix burial (Arnold 1991), there is a resistance to acknowledging such 'powerful' female representations that would challenge the existing model of gender roles in EBA Aegean society.

The third subdivision of androcentric interpretations is based on unfounded conclusions and uncritical inferences regarding the explanation of figurines and, following from that, the status of women. Such works have suggested (among other possibilities) that they

represented female concubines (Fitton 1989; Morris 1985 on Early Cypriot figurines; Orphanides 1982) or attest to the passive role played by women in a society that was dominated by men (see also Bolger 1996 for discussion of Early Cypriot figurines). Susan Sherratt has argued that female figurines support a general scenario, which has also been put forward by Broodbank with regards to piracy and exogamous necessities in the small island communities of the Cyclades (2000, 253), whereby "the acquisition of women from other island communities by exchange (and perhaps even sometimes by force) forms an important part of elite male ideology and lifestyle in an environment in which male and female social and economic roles are likely to have been increasingly differentiated, and in which women - no less than silver drinking cups or livestock - can be seen in their own right, with the ability to confer status on their possessors...", "a generalized image of women and hints of attitudes to women which not only have echoes in later periods in the Aegean, but which seem entirely in accord with other aspects of the spirit of the age as it emerges from its material culture and imagery" (2000, 135-136). The suggestion even includes the possibility that female figurines were handled like forms of soft pornography: "the collection of Early Cycladic figurines sometimes appears almost as a form of soft pornography - though, in a way, this may indeed reflect at least some aspect of the ideas originally embodied in them" (2000, 152), a suggestion highly reminiscent of Guthrie's (1977) suggestion proposing a pornographic use for Palaeolithic female figurines.

There are works that have criticised the androcentric interpretations of EBA society on the basis of figurines. One of them has been put forward by Frankel (1997) as a reaction to Bolger's (1996) interpretation of Early Cypriot figurines and the emergence of patriarchal EBA society. Barber (1984) in her discussion of Aegean figurines has aimed to place women's role as central in EBA Aegean society, though her focus is on a biological, rather than a socio-economic level.

Finally, as far as the use of figurines is concerned, in almost all works figurines have been interpreted as representations of the general ideological system of beliefs that prevailed in the EBA Aegean. Their funerary associations suggest a concern with the after-life (Fitton 1989; Getz-Preziosi 1987a, 1987b, 1994; Höckmann 1977; Renfrew 1984; Zervos 1957), while the discussion regarding the use of figurines in Cycladic settlements has been divided between those supporting the view that they were used in the context of public (Getz-

Preziosi 1982; Renfrew 1991) or domestic sanctuaries (Davis 1984 for the Cyclades, Marangou, C, 1997b for the NE Aegean, Warren 1973 for Crete) and those arguing against figurines circulating in public cult places (Broodbank 1992, 2000; Gill & Chippindale 1993).

The approaches mentioned above which carry implications for the interpretation of gender roles in early prehistory, reveal the very limited discussion of EBA Aegean figurines beyond the art historical framework and the in-built androcentrism, though more recent works have already warned us against such methodological routes. Due to the aesthetic appreciation that still restrains the study of EBA Aegean figurines, there is a lack of a critical process in the attempts to interpret figurines as reflections of gender-related images. Not only are figurine assemblages separated from other Aegean areas outside the Cyclades and Crete, but there is also a need to analyse them as symbolic material culture which can offer us insights into the social organisation of EBA Aegean society. A promising avenue for analysis is suggested by the work of Whitehouse (2001) on Italian figurines, which has placed them in their general material and cultural context and then compared them with other types of evidence as a way of drawing valuable information regarding gender.

III. NEOLITHIC AND EBA AEGEAN CULTURE

In this section I summarise the way of life in the Neolithic and EBA Aegean and the changes that this transition entailed on a socio-economic level. The aim of the review is to draw a general picture of early Aegean prehistory which will aid the study of figurines in their cultural context, but also the understanding of how gender roles may have been moulded accordingly.

Settlement

In the early stages of the EN the evidence indicates an abrupt expansion of settlements, followed by stability in the EN2 phase, while the overall settlement pattern is characterised by dispersal in a variety of environments, though Thessaly demonstrates a much higher density of sites than other Aegean regions (Perlès 2001, 150-1). Following the EN2 and EN3 phases, the evidence suggests abandonment of a quarter of sites for the whole of the duration of the MN, possibly linked to environmental transformations (Perlès 2001, 148-150). For most of the Neolithic period, however, the Aegean was not densely populated until the LN when the evidence suggests an expansion into regions that were settled systematically for the first time. Prior to the LN, the general pattern shows that the sites that were preferred for permanent settlement concentrated in fertile lowlands and in proximity to water sources (i.e. primarily Thessaly, but also Macedonia). In the LN period of expansion the areas of SE and SW mainland and eastern Macedonia become populated (Halstead 1994). The same model also applies in the case of Crete, while other regions, such as most of the Aegean islands and the Cyclades in particular are inhabited permanently for the first time (Broodbank 2000, 144; Davis 1992;). Population levels show a growing trend in community size, reaching 50 to almost 300 per settlement by the last Neolithic phases (Halstead 1995). If we assume that the same pattern was true for all Aegean regions, we could envisage why previously unexploited areas were now settled.

The Neolithic Aegean is not characterised by uniformity in the organisation or form of the occupation sites. We can discern, however, three main types and these are: flat open-air settlements, tells and caves. It is not until the LN, however, that we see a higher degree of

sophistication in the way settlements were organised and planned. This trend characterises mainly two Thessalian sites (Dimini and Sesklo), where the demarcation between activity areas and the division between the acropolis and the surrounding quarters reflect the boundaries that may have existed at a social level between people and performed roles or activities (Halstead 1995, 14; Kotsakis 1999, 71). Such separation between settlement areas suggests that the settlement was organised according to a mental order (and not necessarily a central authority; see Kotsakis 1996) that restricted and controlled the physical movement of people inside the site. In the FN period, the presence of larger and many small sites clearly suggests that a clear hierarchy existed between settlements.

In the period of the FN and EB I two trends become apparent: on one hand some Neolithic sites continue to be occupied, while new sites were also founded. A higher density of population was reached in the Aegean as a whole and new agriculturally marginal regions were exploited, and the settlement pattern of central Macedonia is characterised by more stable residence in the form of tell villages (Halstead 1994, 200). At the same time, fortified coastal sites make their appearance for the first time, as in the case of Pefkakia (Andreou *et al* 1996, 547). The differences from the earlier period of the Neolithic became even more prominent in the EB II phase when significant sites located in coastal areas suggest their involvement in maritime activities and the control of goods. At the same time (EH II) on the mainland sites demonstrate complex structures in the form of the Corridor Houses or the Round structure at Tiryns, but also an early stage of urbanisation, which, however, does not continue in the EH III (Konsola 1986). An interesting level of urbanisation was also reached in parts of the east Aegean (Troy, Poliochni, Thermi, Emborio) with evidence for special function buildings, town-planning and fortifications, also suggesting their function as primary centres in the wider region (Cosmopoulos 1995, 30). In the case of the Cyclades, however, the evidence suggests a more balanced settlement pattern without an apparent hierarchy, though for the Kastri phase (ca. 2450/2400 – 2200/2150) there is a decrease of the number of sites and a move away from the coast to more remote locations (Cosmopoulos 1995, 30-31), as well as a discontinuity of the central EB II sites in the EB III and the emergence of new nucleated patterns (Broodbank 2000, 335, 348). Finally, the situation on Crete shows an increase of population as shown by the increase in settlements overall and of large sites (Branigan 1995, 35). More specifically, farmsteads and hamlets played a central role in the settlement pattern alongside the larger nucleated sites (such as

Knossos, Mallia, A. Triada, Phaistos) (Branigan 1995, 34). Evidence for monumental architecture has also emerged from EM II Palaikastro and EM III Knossos (Branigan 1995, 34).

Economy

Subsistence economy

Neolithic subsistence economy was mainly based on small-scale agriculture, stable gardening and animal husbandry (Halstead 1981). A particularly useful model proposed by Halstead (1989) explains the strategy that Neolithic households would have followed at times of crisis. "Social storage" provided a net of interdependence according to which households exchanged the stored surplus as a tactic of survival. The situation, however, changed in the LN when competition over production (a result of population increase) and elite control over agricultural surplus, labour and exchange disturbed the balance between households (Halstead 1989, 1995). The evidence for expansion into new agricultural zones (Broodbank 2000, 145-9; Davis 1992) is indicative of the competition over land resources and inequalities between households of different regions.

In the EBA period, agriculture and herding for mixed-purpose household needs still play a major role for their subsistence economy with some indication of possible specialisation in animal husbandry (Halstead 1996, 27, 33), although the possibility that vine and olive were first cultivated in this period have also been proposed by Renfrew (1972) and Halstead (1981), a debate that lies behind many attempts to understand and explain the transition from the Neolithic to the EBA period (for the transition debate see Andel, van & Runnels 1988, Gilman 1981 & 1991, Halstead 1995, Hamilakis 1996, Hansen 1988, Pullen 1992, Runnels & Hansen 1986, Sherratt 1981 & 1987, Stager 1985). The general picture, however, suggests that the closed arrangement of cooking facilities in the FN and EBA periods reflects less sharing between households (Halstead 1994, 207). Furthermore, eidoloplastic evidence from Tsoungiza for ploughing has been interpreted as a sign of intensified agriculture, further indicating social and economic inequalities, since oxen as traction animals would not have been owned by every household (Pullen 1992). Those households in a more advantageous position, as a result of intensified production, expanded

their wealth through social storage and ensured their position as economically and politically powerful groups (Halstead 1989).

Craft production and circulation of products

In the Neolithic, the evidence for substantial EN and MN production in terms of quantity and variety, as well as the level of knowledge, suggests the existence of specialists from an early point (Perlès & Vitelli 1999, 97, 98, 100). Concerning the procurement of materials, we know that exotic raw lithic materials may have come from long distances and were used at Aegean sites. These materials circulated either in the form of cores, or as finished products which indicate a certain degree of expertise in the domain of lithic technology, but also a differentiation between specialised activities (Pelés & Vitelli 1999, 97, 100). Furthermore, the fact that raw materials have been recovered from LN sites, suggests some level of organisation of procurement and production (Perlés & Vitelli 1999, 97, 100). Other manufactured products in the Neolithic include figurines, shell and stone ornaments, stone vases and seals, as well as metal objects from the LN to FN period (see Branigan 1974, Coleman 1977, 3, 5 for stone and metal objects, Demoule & Perlés 1993, Stos-Gale 1989).

In the EBA a higher complexity in economic spheres was also expressed through specialisation, suggested by intensified trading activities and the movement of raw materials and finished products. The circulation and processing of metal in EB II led to the emergence of certain sites which dominated its extraction, working and trading. The new material forms that appeared as a result of the new technology included weaponry, jewellery, tools and toilet articles (Renfrew 1972, 320-4, 328-9, 333-6). Those involved in metallurgy, craftspeople and traders, would have formed a new class of specialists, although the seasonality of seafaring would suggest that they were not occupied all year round (Broodbank 2000, 287). Other products outside the realm of metallurgy, such as stone vases, marble figurines and pottery (Mirabello and Vasiliki on Crete) also indicate further specialisation. Finally, the use of seals and sealings also indicate a higher level of economic complexity and has been linked to suggestions about redistribution or ownership (Pullen 1994b; Weingarten 1997; Wiencke 1989).

Trade and exchange

In the Neolithic the commodities that circulated included fine goods, exotic raw materials, stone tools, pottery, seals, occasionally figurines and metal objects in the FN (Halstead 1994, 207; Nakou 1995; Renfrew 1972, 444-8). In other cases, limited evidence has been interpreted as showing contact between Crete and Anatolia and the Cyclades (Branigan 1974).

In the EBA, despite the uneven circulation of products throughout the whole period, a greater variety of objects was present and the focus was now on raw materials and metal objects, pottery, marble bowls and figurines (Renfrew 1972, 451, 454). A review of the origin of the objects that circulated and the regions in which they have been recovered indicate the following trade or exchange routes: North Aegean and the Pontic region (Nakou 1995), the Cyclades and Crete, mainland and Crete through the Cyclades (Rutter & Zerner 1984), as well as Crete and Egypt (Krzyszkowska 1981). As far as the Cycladic material culture is concerned, its spread within the Aegean was the result of exportation and emulation or even migrations of Cycladic populations to northern Crete (Day *et al* 1998; Hood 1990). We should not assume, however, that Cycladic objects were used in the same cultural context in regions outside the Cyclades (Branigan 1970; Carter 1998). An explanation offered for the wider distribution of materials and long-distance interaction between regions of the Aegean suggests that they reflect the formation of alliances necessary at difficult economic times (Halstead 1994, 207).

Burials

The burial evidence for the Neolithic period is scanty and indicates that there was no uniformity in the way people buried their dead across the Aegean. The known burial practices included child burials under house floors (Evans 1964), inhumations inside rock shelters (Davis 1992), cremations contained in urns (Andreou *et al* 1996), as well as dismembered inhumations scattered inside settlements (Andreou *et al* 1996). The first burials that indicate intentional care paid to the dead date to the LN and FN phases and have been found at the grave cemeteries of Kephala (Coleman 1977) and the cave of Aghia Triada on Euboia (Davis 1992, 96), while interments inside caves were still practised also

on Crete (Pendlebury Coutts 1939a; Tzedakis 1966; Vagnetti & Belli 1978). The objects found in association with burials included figurines and ceramics.

A very different picture is presented by the EBA funerary evidence which indicates much greater attention and emphasis placed on burials as expressed through expended labour for architecturally visible burials. Such structures were given the shape of burial chambers of varied forms (Sampson 1988b, Table 6), tholoi (Branigan 1970, 122), house tombs (Soles 1988, 59), burial tumuli (Rutter 1993, 761), ossuaries (Sampson 1988b, 48), while interments were also contained inside pithoi (Sampson 1988b, 48) and caves (Branigan 1988, 152). In some cases, grave goods accompanied the dead, although this did not constitute the norm (Branigan 1970, 84; Branigan 1993, 112; Doumas 1977, 58; Pullen 1994a, 127). In the case of richly furnished burials, however, the evidence indicates another difference from the previous Neolithic period, that of wealth associated with the dead (see Branigan 1993, 71-5 for the range of prized grave goods; Renfrew 1972, 371), and an increased emphasis on the social status of those buried. Some interpretations have proposed that burials expressed social differentiation (Branigan 1988; Soles 1988), although in the case of tholoi it is likely that they may have conveyed community identity and ties between kinship members (Blackman and Branigan 1973; Branigan 1998, 23), while at the same time also acting as territorial markers (Murphy 1998). It is not clear what level of social differentiation had been reached in the EBA, but the evidence suggests a very different treatment of the dead and a far more complex social nexus organised according to lineage ties, while a degree of differentiation regarding wealth was expressed through the manipulation of social statements (Broodbank 2000, 267-272).

Neolithic social organisation and implications for gender

Interpretations focusing on the Neolithic rightly tend to focus on separating the differences between the earlier (EN, MN) and later (LN, FN) part, since the evidence does suggest a degree of change from the LN onwards. In recent interpretations, there is a move away from oversimplified scenarios of egalitarianism to a more complex picture where we can detect signs of negotiation of alliances and resources between households and communities.

In more detail, the evidence from the earlier part of the Neolithic (EN, MN) does not show signs of social inequality; rather the estimated size of the population is more indicative of egalitarian societies where sharing of resources played an important role in the process of social cohesion, while the family has been considered the main social unit (Halstead & O'Shea 1982; Halstead 1995). On the other hand, an alternative interpretation for the MN suggests that the biased distribution of pottery in two spatially distinct sectors of Sesklo is evidence for social inequality (Maniatis *et al* 1988), though Demoule and Perlès (1993, 384) have pointed out that we cannot draw such conclusions on the basis of limited evidence. A slightly more complex picture for the earlier Neolithic, however, has been drawn by Perlès (2001) which allows the detection of degrees of social inequality, such as achieved personal status rather than institutionalised inequality, though early Neolithic society is still described as effectively egalitarian (2001, 284). Moreover, the evidence for some craft specialisation and the knowledge of distant places for the procurement of obsidian and honey-coloured flint could have operated on the level of status differentiation (Perlès 2001, 284-5). However, Perlès does not argue for a hierarchical society; instead the demographic factor in the densely populated areas of Thessaly and Macedonia "led to increased heterarchy" (2001, 290).

On the level of social relationships between members of a community, the evidence seems to indicate a peaceful existence with a reliance on neighbouring households and alliances with households outside their community (Halstead 1989, 1999). In many cases, there would have been a need for exogamy which would have consolidated alliances and links between households from other settlements as a way of ensuring survival at times of economic crisis (Halstead 1989; Perlès 2001, 219). As far as personal status is concerned, burials not only suggest social equality between households, but also indicate equality in terms of gender status between men and women, though children may have been considered a separate category (Perlès 2001, 284). The limited mortuary record, therefore, supports the idea that different statuses in Neolithic society were not organised hierarchically and that age may have played an important role in the categorisation of individuals (Perlès 2001, 284). The idea that personal status was differentiated in early Neolithic societies has been further suggested on the basis of the unequal distribution of personal ornaments and 'stamp-seals' which indicate modification of external appearance, but also the restricted circulation of such items in Macedonia and Thessaly, which carries

implications for social organisation (Perlès 2001, 288). In reference to gender roles, Perlès (2001, 301-302) has argued that the evidence suggests a differentiation between gender roles (women's roles tied to their life-giving power and men's high status expressed by the 'enthroned' male figurines), but not necessarily a predominance of one over the other. On the other hand, Vitelli (1995), at least for the earlier part of the Neolithic, has postulated that the knowledge and virtuosity required for the production of ceramics, which she attributes to women, were probably seen as a source of symbolic power. As I discuss later on, however, such inferences need to be carefully examined and should not be used with such readiness to explain the way labour was organised in prehistoric societies. A similar argument for women's central role in the economy of the Neolithic society as a result of their high contribution to subsistence has been put forward by Chapman (1991, 157) in reference to SE Europe on the basis of an ethnographic correlation between figurines representing deities and women's role in society's economy. The assumption, however, that predominantly female figurines represent deities is problematic on many levels and that is why this consideration deserves further elaboration in a later section.

In the later Neolithic (LN, FN) the picture of social equilibrium changes with the beginning of the LN phase when architectural and spatial evidence indicates a shift from sharing to hoarding and unequal accumulations of resources (Halstead & O'Shea 1982, 1995; Kotsakis 1999). Such evidence suggests the emergence of elite households through the mechanisms of social storage and the subsequent nucleation of populations around such elite households (Halstead & O'Shea 1982, 1995). It is from this point that evidence indicates competition between households over surplus at times of crisis, while alternative routes for establishing alliances through marriage or exchange ensured a safety nexus between elite households from different communities (Halstead 1989, 1999). In addition, the walls demarcating parts of LN and FN sites have been interpreted as an expression of inequality (Kotsakis 1999, 71) which in the later Neolithic even became institutionalised, as suggested by Halstead (1989, 76). This pattern intensified in the FN period when the production of copper objects may have been centrally controlled and replaced fine pottery in the strategy of social storage (Halstead 1989 *contra* Demoule & Perlès 1993, 406), despite the lack of evidence for complex, large FN sites. The mortuary evidence, however, does not suggest status differences, though it is possible that the two different types of burial at Plateia Magoula Zarkou may reflect sex differences (Demoule & Perlès 1993, 396-

7). As far as gender is concerned, the available literature does not provide any suggestions on social transformations in the later phase of the Aegean Neolithic, apart from the work of Gimbutas which argued for the existence of a matrifocal system. As I have already argued, however, Gimbutas and her followers have presented a very selective use and understanding of the evidence which renders their interpretation unfounded. Chapman (1991), however, in relation to his discussion of social transformation in SE Europe has suggested that the advances in subsistence economy, and the free time that was created as a result, led women to occupy themselves with other crafts. From this it follows that the increased contribution of men to subsistence elevated their status in the Balkan Copper Age and thus led to men manipulating ideological and political spheres as a way of exerting power over women (Chapman 1991, 164-5). A point to note, however, is that though in the Aegean there is also an emerging emphasis on formalised burial practices, we have no evidence that could parallel that of the exceptional Varna cemetery and which could therefore support a differentiation of wealth and power at the same level. Moreover, the noted increase of male figurines in the Copper Age and Chapman's assumption that they represented male divinities is again problematic, because it cannot explain why the evidence is not used to support the reverse pattern of female domination and manipulation at the expense of men for the earlier part of the Neolithic. The increasing wealth and status differentiation emerging in the Copper Age, therefore, did express a more complex pattern for constructing and communicating social identity, although that should perhaps be seen on the level of group rather than personal differentiated position.

The evidence, therefore, suggests that there seems to be an increase in relative complexity in the later Neolithic, as marked by architectural and spatial arrangements and the introduction of new material forms, as well as the new emphasis placed on formalised burials. One way of approaching the social organisation of later Neolithic society is to explore the degree to which evidence indicates rank differences. Although power differences can take more subtle forms at the level of non-institutionalised inter-personal relationships (as in the case of adult-children relationships) (see Giddens 1984, 1987; Miller & Tilley 1984), it is difficult to explore the issue any further on the basis of the available data, and that is why I have chosen to focus here on power differences as expressed through rank. Starting with the mortuary evidence from late cemeteries, it does not indicate hereditary status or any form of elaboration suggesting that rank differences

were greatly marked. Alternatively, status was constructed on a basis other than economic resources (Wason 1994, 85). Moreover, on the basis of mortuary evidence we cannot argue that (a) status was achieved, or that (b) men and women held unequal social positions in Neolithic society. Also, the evidence does not show an unequal representation of one sex and so we could not argue that we are witnessing a differentiation of status on the basis of gender (see Brown 1981, 29). On the other hand, the mortuary record suggests a distinction between children and adults which can be interpreted as a symbolic distinction only, expressing nothing more than minimal ranking (Brown 1981, 29). A similar idea has been put forward for Çatal Hüyük where again the evidence (despite its wealth in comparison to Aegean Neolithic sites) indicates a very low level of ranking with an equal status between men and women (Wason 1994, 178). The mortuary record and spatial, geographical distribution of 'valuable' artefacts cannot support the hypothesis that men and women held unequal positions in terms of social status. Far from viewing the Neolithic Aegean as an egalitarian order of things, however, I acknowledge the relative complexity that characterises these communities, but I am inclined to interpret the indicated differential accumulation of wealth in terms of 'special' artefacts or architecture as marking a group identity rather than personal rank. The evidence from Neolithic Aegean sites, therefore, should be interpreted on the level of households rather than individuals.

EBA social organisation and implications for gender

In the explanatory models for the transition from the Neolithic to the EBA society, there has been an emphasis on emerging (relative) complexity which was marked by a change from effectively egalitarian societies to a ranked system, though I do not intend at this point to offer a detailed account of these theories. Whether the intensification of production (Halstead 1995; Gilman 1981; Pullen 1992; Sherratt 1981, 1987) and the emergence of "polyculture" (Renfrew 1972; Sherratt 1987) or increased trade (Andel, van & Runnels 1988; Gilman 1981; Nakou 1997; Runnels & Hansen 1986; Sherratt & Sherratt 1991, 1993) were regarded as the impetus behind the socio-economic changes, the EBA period has been interpreted as one of marked hierarchy and status, as well as competition over resources (Andel, van and Runnels 1988; Halstead 1995; Pullen 1992; Renfrew 1972; Runnels &

Hansen 1986; Sherratt 1981). I believe that the degree and nature of the emerging hierarchy is an issue that requires careful discussion, but the evidence from the EBA nevertheless does show significant differences from the Neolithic, indicating a higher degree of social complexity.

Starting with settlements, the available data from the southern mainland, Crete, the Cyclades and the NE Aegean suggest differentiation between households (Branigan 1988; Haggis 1999; Halstead 1994; Marthari 1997; Pullen 1994b; Wiencke 1989) reflecting the existence of local elites who successfully exercised some form of control over the production and/or circulation of wealth. The larger architectural forms that make their appearance in extensive settlements on the southern mainland (and Troy) indicate that we should envisage a special status held by specific social groups (see Wason 1994, 112). Though the above picture serves to point out the obvious differences from the Neolithic period, we should bear in mind that not all EBA sites expressed the same degree of social complexity. The existence of a hierarchy of settlement types (Broodbank 2000, 86; Whitelaw 1983) in the Aegean implies a social organisation ranging from simple, egalitarian rural communities to the more formally ordered societies of larger sites (Whitelaw 1983). In terms of population size there is no uniform pattern across the Aegean. The settlement hierarchy also reflected both the density of population and the relative degree of complexity in terms of social organisation. At one end of the scale, therefore, we can classify sites such as Knossos with an estimated population of 1,290-1,940 (Whitelaw 1983, 339), as well as other settlements of the central mainland, the Peloponnese, Euboia and Aigina that demonstrate some level of embryonic urbanisation especially in the EB II phase (Konsola 1986). The case of smaller sites of a rural character, however, also needs to be addressed. The situation is clearly exemplified by the farmsteads and hamlets located in the Cyclades with an estimated population of 5-10 and 11-50 accordingly (Broodbank 2000, 86). Even the largest Cycladic villages did not exceed 300 people per site (Broodbank 2000, 86), also suggested for the population of average nucleated settlements which would have reached several hundreds (Halstead 1995, 15-6). In the case of such restricted communities exogamy would have been a necessity for the maintenance of long-term communities, but would have also ensured the survival of a community through the mobility of people and the establishment of alliances (Broodbank 2000, 88-9).

In burials, the most noticeable difference in comparison to the Neolithic period is that the LN and FN trend for formalised burial practices became intensified even further in the EBA period. Burial practices differed from area to area, but the increased emphasis placed by the community on their ancestors is a common theme throughout the Aegean. The burial practices of the EBA take two main forms: (a) single inhumations in demarcated burial spaces associated with a settlement, and (b) collective burials in one or more tombs belonging to a single community. The overall pattern concerning social status that is revealed to us through burial evidence (architectural construction, position in a cemetery or tomb and grave goods) is that there is a marked differentiation between rich and poor graves which in turn is taken to correspond to higher and lower social rank. Such evidence was absent in the Neolithic, suggesting that society was characterised by an increased complexity in the way identities were constructed and communicated at a social level. Data that help illustrate this point are available from cemeteries from western Greece (Branigan 1975, 42-3), the southern mainland (Pullen 1994a), Euboia (Sampson 1987, 1988), the Cyclades (Broodbank 2000, 262-272; Doumas 1977, 1987; Renfrew 1972, 371) and Crete (Maggidis 1998; Soles 1988).

If we now translate the available burial evidence into social action, I think that we can begin to envisage an overlap, but also a sense of conflict, between personal identity and the survival of the community as a whole. Starting with the close association between burial places and their communities, as well as the care taken in the form of burial customs (construction of graves or communal tombs, associated rituals, grave goods), we can conclude that Aegean EBA society placed a conspicuous emphasis on lineage, association with the ancestors and the sense of belonging to a community (Blackman and Branigan 1973; Murphy 1998). It is in this context, however, that we also need to discern a differentiation between social units and individuals that comprised a community. In the case of the Cyclades, the clusters of single burials, later replaced by multiple inhumations, can be interpreted as evidence for a society organised on the basis of family or other social grouping (Doumas 1987, 17). A more powerful argument can be made for the EM tholoi of Crete, the contemporary use of which suggests that the associated communities were organised according to a clan or other kin system (Branigan 1988; Haggis 1999; Maggidis 1998). A similar suggestion has also been put forward for the burials from the mainland on the grounds that the same graves were used successively over long periods of time (Pullen

1994a). Even though a considerable degree of variety characterised the burial practices in the EBA Aegean, the summarised pattern of the mortuary record helps us to recognise how communities were organised on the basis of kin, clan or other extended family, the co-existence of which comprised a community. The presence of one or more such groupings in one community would have been coloured by a degree of competition over resources, their acquisition and circulation, and that is how we can explain the patterns of differentiation between burials of the same cemetery.

Returning now to the point I made earlier concerning the increased complexity in the way personal identities were constructed, as expressed by the differential burial type and association with grave goods, I wish to focus on the position that specific individuals carved out for themselves within their own community. However, whether such attainments were the result only of achieved status is debatable, since the recovery of child burials from Phourni on Crete (Maggidis 1998; Figure 6.30, Skull no. 174) and Manika on Euboia (Sampson 1988, Table 14, Grave no. 69, 81, 134) in association with prestige objects is an indication often taken to suggest inherited status, though care needs to be taken when drawing such conclusions if prestige objects do not also constitute office markers. The evidence for possible inherited status, however, should not rule out that achieved status may have acted as a parallel and alternative way in which individuals and their associated groups could have negotiated their position inside their community, especially in the seafaring context of the Cyclades (Broodbank 2000, 86) and at a much smaller scale of community size in relation to Manika.

Another type of evidence that throws more light on the place individuals held in their communities is the increased variety of artefacts related to personal modification in the form of jewellery, hair and attire accessories, weaponry, as well as tattooing equipment, metal tweezers and obsidian flakes serving as razors, especially in the EB II (Broodbank 2000, 248-9; Carter 1994). Furthermore, the association between the sex of the skeleton and particular types of grave goods (Maggidis 1998, 91; Sampson 1988, 58) suggests that an increased gender identity had developed in the EBA society. In the lack of extensive sexed burial evidence from the Aegean, the work by Sørensen on central and western Europe of the EBA period, provides us with a possible scenario suggesting a strong polarity between men and women, especially marked by the association between men and weaponry and

women and jewellery (1991, 1997, 2000). Moreover, musculoskeletal stress markers from EB I southern Levant suggest that in that area, at least in comparison to the earliest Neolithic, there is for the first time a marked division of labour between men and women with male activity levels decreasing (Peterson 2002, 145). A suggested ethnographic scenario would see women as playing an increasing role in the production of dairy products and the processing of wool, while men and young boys would be more active in the herding of animals (Peterson 2002, 146). It is in the context of the new polarity between gender roles, that the emergence of a new male identity as warriors can be placed (Treherne 1995), though we need to bear in mind that for the EBA Aegean, (a) not all cemeteries contained weaponry, (b) weaponry was associated with high social status which not all men could achieve or inherit, and (c) many such weapons would have had a ceremonial rather than a practical use which would cast doubts as to whether authority was military in character, although military metaphors must have been present in male lives. The introduction of new crafts and technologies such as metallurgy (but also the activity of seafaring I would add for the EBA Aegean), as well as the increased integration of men in those spheres (Broodbank 2000, 96), would have allowed women to play an important economic role in replacing men in the previously exclusively male tasks (Sørensen 2000). It is in fact in this context of new opportunities for women to enhance their status (Sørensen 2000) that we should explain the rich female burials from Manika (Sampson 1988, Table 14, Grave no. 37, 60, 62, 69, 78, 82, 103, 134, 150), as well as burial evidence that does not point to a differential treatment between men and women in the Aegean overall (Cosmopoulos 1995, 26). A similar argument could also follow from the communal burials from Crete, many of which contained jewellery of precious metals. Furthermore, if we associate weaponry as symbolically demarcating men's high status (the rise of an EBA warrior elite has been argued by Gilman 1981), an equivalent high status would have been communicated for women through the use of metal jewellery, following the practice of the construction of personal identity with the use of metal in EBA Aegean society (Nakou 1995, 23). Sherratt (1981) has proposed that, because of the increased importance of land ownership, EBA society was organised along a patrilineal line (as opposed to the Neolithic matrilineal system) which also led to the practice of monogamy and the labour division of gender roles. Although, as I have already discussed, the gendered division of labour is likely to have happened in the EBA Aegean, we cannot show with any certainty a shift from a matrilineal to a patrilineal social order.

In conclusion, I would argue that the EBA archaeological record indicates an increased complexity in the way social groups identified themselves than in the Neolithic. The emergence of new material forms associated with personal identity (e.g. marble vessels, marble figurines, metal weapons, metal jewellery) suggests that there was in turn a social complexity in the way status was marked in the EBA society emblematically (see Wason 1994, 115). Other criteria that refer to the existence of wealth, such as the possession of a greater variety of artefacts in quantitative and qualitative terms (Wason 1994, 116, 126) suggest social ranking, with a trend for increasing hierarchy (see Brown 1981, 29). Moreover, there is reason to believe that some social status was hereditary, even though the military element associated with high status is a strong indication that rank was highly dependent on achievement (Wason 1994, 85). On the other hand, collective burials containing high status individuals, as in the case of Crete, implies that though society was organised on the basis of kin, achieved status could also be attained (Wason 1994, 90). We can conclude, therefore, that as the fabric of society and the mechanisms defining social status changed from the Neolithic to the EBA period, we should also expect that gender, a structuring category of equal importance, would have also been affected by the new conditions and it is in this socio-economic context that EBA figurines need to be interpreted.

A final point that needs to be stressed, however, is that considering the varying sizes of settlements and estimated populations of much smaller and 'poorer' sites, it would not be unreasonable to envisage such rural communities operating more on the level of largely egalitarian Neolithic societies in terms of personal status and gender rather than following the more elaborate pattern of more complex communities. In fact, the estimated population for EN and MN villages in Thessaly ranges between 50-300 people (Halstead 1995, 12) and 70-150+ for the long-lived sites of the Saliagos culture (Broodbank 2000, 145-6) which overlaps with the population estimates of EC villages, not to mention the EBA farmsteads and hamlets that would have consisted of fewer households than some of the Neolithic Thessalian settlements. Accepting that the population density of a site is related to the social complexity that characterises its community, we should then be careful before automatically equating the EBA with greater social fragmentation and inequality. The diversity the characterises the population and settlement patterns in the EBA Aegean, as well as the overlap with certain features of Neolithic demography warn us against such

simplistic inferences. A further point that warns us against interpretations that project the rise of patriarchy onto the EBA, is the fact that even in large sites such as Manika (where we may expect a more complex social order), the burial record does not indicate inequalities between men and women (see also *Chapter 6*, *Chapter 7*). It is in the light of careful and perceptive study of the available evidence, therefore, that we need to incorporate figurines in the two successive periods of Aegean prehistory and understand how gender roles and behaviours may have developed.

Chapter 3

THE STUDY OF GENDER THROUGH ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINES: A THEORETICAL DISCUSSION

For this chapter I will turn to the approach that I have developed for my research. The chapter is divided into six main sections starting with a review of the epistemological history of the study of prehistoric anthropomorphic figurines and progressing on to the discussion of themes that I find particularly useful for my particular research interest. In the final section I present the questions that I pose in my own research.

I. EARLIER INTERPRETATIONS OF PREHISTORIC ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINES

In this section, I will present the general way in which Neolithic and EBA anthropomorphic figurines have been interpreted in the field of Aegean, European and Anatolian archaeology. A number of trends will become apparent, which will explain some of the main interpretative traditions, but will also provide the basis for my own research which developed as a critical reaction to the earlier interpretations that have coloured our understanding of early prehistoric European figurines and early Aegean society in particular.

I a. Neolithic Figurines

- **1900-1980s: Formative Period**

Neolithic figurines, and anthropomorphic figurines in general, have been a popular subject of research for almost a century. They have attracted great interest (not only from archaeologists), and a number of interpretations have been suggested. Their form was valued in aesthetic terms and their obvious representation of the human body was viewed as a direct insight into prehistoric societies. The formative era started at the beginning of the 1900s and continued until the 1980s, with the exception, of course, of the work conducted by Ucko (1968). Consideration of early work of the formative period conducted until the late 1960s demonstrates that such research was based on a number of unfounded assumptions. The arguments are weak and the scholars allowed their biases and preconceptions to affect the study of prehistoric figurines. To illustrate my point clearly, I have identified four main aspects in these interpretations which summarise the uncritical approach and assumptions of these previous works. They are as follows:

(a) Matriarchy
(b) Mother-Goddess Theory
(c) Androcentric biases
(d) Gynocentric biases

Matriarchy: In order to comprehend how theories of matriarchy developed in the field of archaeology, we first need to consider the main pioneering works of evolutionary theory and anthropology of the post-Enlightenment period and their scientific attempt to explain biological, sexual and mental differences. Morgan in his work *Ancient Society* (1877) constructed an evolutionary model which was used to explain the development of human society through the stages of *savagery*, *barbarism* and finally *civilisation*. Morgan placed the advent of matriliny (as distinct from matriarchy) in the range of the Middle period of savagery through to the Older period of barbarism which was later followed by the state of patriliny and which developed in the period between the Middle to Later period of barbarism. Bachofen, whose work *Myth, Religion and Mother Right* was selectively published in 1967 following an earlier German edition (1926), is concerned with the

appearance of the Mother-Goddess worship. Bachofen places the emergence of her worship in the phase before the Classical period (in what he termed as the pre-Hellenic period) which was also organised as a matriarchal society. In his work he makes the association between matriarchy and the mysterious element of religion, since he associated women with the supernatural and with irrational behaviour. Following the work of Morgan, Engels wrote *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884). Engels accepted the validity of Bachofen's early work and his contribution to our understanding of how human society developed through stages of sexual promiscuity, matriliny and later patriliny. The theories which greatly influenced Engels' work, however, came from Morgan's evolutionary model in his *Ancient Society* (1877). In the same line of thought, Engels also places matriliny in an early chronological stage which was later replaced by patriliny, reaching its peak in the form of the Roman family.

Mother-Goddess Theory: The Mother-Goddess theory has become synonymous with the name of Gimbutas and goes back to Bachofen, although similar theories had previously been developed by other scholars. A number of archaeologists (Cles-Reden, von 1960; Crawford 1957; Hawkes 1968; Nilsson 1927; Vermeule 1964) have argued for the existence of the Mother-Goddess cult which dated to the Palaeolithic-Neolithic period and then spread from the Middle East to Europe and finally came to a violent end with the advent of patriarchy in the Bronze Age.

It was Gimbutas, however, who popularised the idea of the Mother-Goddess in archaeology. Gimbutas' theory was based on the acceptance of a matrifocal past, but attempted to correct the previous androcentric interpretations by elevating matrifocal societies and women's roles to the sphere of idealism. Gimbutas' (1982) argument was constructed on the basis of the idea that images of the Mother-Goddess were being used over a long period of time and were present in an extensive area, proof of the fact that her cult lasted over 20, 000 years, from the Palaeolithic, Neolithic and beyond, and extended over the whole of 'Old-Europe' (which covered the Aegean, Adriatic and extended as far as Czechoslovakia, southern Poland and the western Ukraine). Gimbutas also associated the worship of this goddess (or goddesses) with shrines, sacred places, house platforms or graves.

Androcentric interpretations: Beyond the interpretations associated with matriarchy and biological determinism, mainstream archaeological analyses in the 1970s and 1980s continued to be influenced by androcentric biases. Guthrie (1977), with reference to Palaeolithic art and representations of female bodies, argued that they were produced by men for their pleasure, similar to pornographic images today. Orphanides (1982) and Morris (1985), on the other hand, have interpreted prehistoric figurines found in burials as representations of female servants, concubines or goddesses of sexual character.

Gynocentric interpretations: In the late 1960s when feminism created the right conditions, a number of archaeological works aimed at replacing androcentric views of the past by excluding men from their interpretations, Gimbutas's theory indeed being one of these. What these interpretations (see Davis 1973, Murray 1963, Stone 1977) had in common was the intention to elevate women in prehistory to a higher status as a reaction to biased arguments produced by male scholars. They were based on the idea that the Mother-Goddess cult in early matriarchal prehistory shows how a religion resulted from women's biological superiority over men. On the basis of the assertion that women are superior to men biologically, they argue that women's contribution to civilisation was greater than that of men's. I should add, however, that such interpretations were mainly popular outside the field of Archaeology.

- **Problems and biases in earlier interpretations**

The problematic interpretations of the formative period have been criticised for their poor scholarship, absence of an established and acknowledged theoretical grounding, the weak methodology and clear androcentric or gynocentric biases (Conkey & Tringham 1995; Meskell 1995; Tringham & Conkey 1998). I should draw a line, however, between the early interpretations which argued for the Mother-Goddess cult with a subconscious political agenda, and the later theories by Gimbutas and other scholars who were more polemic and politically conscious. A number of positive points, however, can be pointed out in the work by Gimbutas in relation to some of the issues raised in her research, such as the discussion of manufacturing techniques, the fragmentation patterns of figurines through

empirical observation (Chapman 2000, 69), their systematic recording and the inclusion of anthropological references in her work. Moreover, through her work Gimbutas paid attention to the detailed study of certain aspects of figurines, such as shape and decoration, that were ignored in previous Mother-Goddess approaches. In addition, Gimbutas was one of the first to use C14 dating in Balkan sites which in turn provided a secure chronological base for the analysis of figurines.

What they all have in common, however, is that their main weaknesses lie in the fact that the evidence was used selectively as a way of structuring the arguments that individual archaeologists preferred, according to their biases. These interpretations lacked the required dialectic relationship between the available evidence and the questions asked by the researcher. In addition, as a result of a preconceived interpretative line, figurines were studied outside their social and archaeological context. Consequently, archaeologists of that era missed the chance to study figurines in a systematic way which would have allowed them to gain (relatively) unbiased information about past socio-political systems, ideologies and gender identities. As Hamilton (1996) has argued, figurines were used by a number of interest groups that wished to form an identity, exactly because of the archaeologists' lack of consensus and agreement about the ways in which figurines need to be studied. It is for that reason that we (archaeologists) need to develop a systematic and coherent approach for the study of figurines and a generally accepted methodological framework which will allow us to interpret them in a more effective and controlled way, and, more importantly, without imposing our own prejudices on the archaeological record.

- **1990s: The introduction of new trends**

With the exception of Ucko's thesis, published in 1968, and his first systematic recording and categorising of anthropomorphic figurines, it was not until the late 1980s that Neolithic figurines became again an area of systematic research. In the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s there was a revival of interest in studies of early prehistoric figurines from SE Europe including evidence from Greece and the rest of the Balkans, as well as Anatolia and Cyprus. Such trends also reflect the new optimism of archaeologists about the interpretation

of figurines, which has sprung from a new theoretical and methodological conception of how we should be approaching their analysis. All these new attempts should be viewed in the light of recent developments in theoretical archaeology, including the emergence and increasing popularity of gender archaeology, a field of research which has provided new scope for the interpretation of socially meaningful processes and their material products. The validity of these recent analyses lies in the way they offer new interpretations based on an attempt to theorise the complexity of figurine analysis by going beyond their form and recognising in them the active potential to carry symbolic messages of social significance.

The era for new interpretations of prehistoric figurines is marked by the pioneering work of Ucko (1968) who argued against the Mother-Goddess theory, considered the context of the figurines and paid attention to the representation of their sex, dismissing thus the assumption that all Neolithic figurines were female. Following Ucko's work, new interpretations of prehistoric figurines from Central and SE and south-central Europe (Balkans, Aegean, Anatolia, Cyprus and Italy) have been produced in the 1980s , 1990s and later (see Bailey 1994a, 1994b, 1996, 2005; Bolger 1996; Campo, a, 1994; Chapman 2000, 2001; Gallis 2001; Hamilton 2000; Hitchcock 1997; Holmes & Whitehouse 1998; Kokkinidou & Nikolaidou 1993, 55-63; 1997; Langdon 1999; Lee 2000; Orphanidis-Georgiadis 1992; Talalay 1987, 1991, 1993, 2000, 2005).

What these new interpretations demonstrate is that the methodological routes followed by archaeologists vary, but they have in common the consideration of the figurines in their archaeological context and the belief that this is the way forward. In addition, figurines have been studied for their style, form, decoration, depiction and iconography (e.g. Kokkinidou & Nikolaidou 1997), or even gestures (Hitchcock 1997) and fragmentation patterns (Chapman 2000). In certain cases some archaeologists employ ethnographic evidence as an analogy for their arguments (e.g. Chapman 2001, Kokkinidou & Nikolaidou 1997, Talalay 1993). There is a clear distinction, therefore, between earlier interpretations and the more recent ones. This lies not only in the fact that figurines are not now divorced from their cultural and archaeological context, but also in that archaeologists are now conscious of their theoretical approaches and the implications of their suggested hypotheses. It has also been recognised that gender is a crucial parameter in figurine analysis and that the plurality of suggested interpretations also reflects the intention to

depart from earlier monolithic explanations.

I b. EBA Figurines

- **The tyranny of aesthetics**

The study of EBA Aegean figurines has followed a very different history from their Neolithic counterparts. The main difference can be pinned down to the aesthetic appreciation that the Cycladic figurines attracted above all other EBA Aegean assemblages. The appeal of their form has been so great that a number of scholars have advocated that they represent the origin of European art: "In the Cyclades there developed...for the first time in Europe, a concern for underlying regularities of proportion" (Renfrew 1991, 187); "For many of us today these Cycladic marble maidens mark the birth of Western Art" (Renfrew 1977a, 70); they "constitute the Cycladic Civilisation's greatest and most precious contribution to Art, a contribution unprecedented, unique and unrepeated..." (Papathanassopoulos 1981, 181). Furthermore, Cycladic figurines have been loaded with modernist ideas and aesthetic criteria by drawing a link with works of modern art (Broodbank 1992; Gill & Chippindale 1993): "Cycladic sculpture of the third millennium B.C. achieves what many artists in our century have sought to emulate the art of refining complex forms while retaining the quality of presence that pervades all great works of art" (Renfrew 1991, 185). As a result of the prevailing aesthetic and artistic perspective, the vast majority of studies of EBA Aegean figurines lack critical insight into the evidence and its potential to generate useful information about the societies that produced them.

Another notable difference from the study of Neolithic figurines is that in the EBA the archaeologists' main preoccupation has been to establish typological schemata, which is again rooted in the principles of art history. The most representative works of this category include the works by Getz-Preziosi (1987a, 1987b, 1994), Renfrew (1977b, 1991) and Zervos (1957), though other scholars have also followed a similar line of approach (Marinatos 1933; Papathanassopoulos 1981). The criticism is not directed against the attempt to establish typologies (since they can prove particularly useful when assigning

dates to artefacts or tracing contacts between cultures), but to the unwillingness to explore further the interpretation of figurines in their socio-cultural context. More specifically, in the case of Getz-Preziosi, the central preoccupation in her work with the attribution of Cycladic figurines to specific Masters and their workshops, as well as the artistic canons that determined their shape as objects of high artistic value, has obstructed the understanding of EBA Aegean figurines as meaningful categories of prehistoric material culture on two levels. On the one hand, the interpretation has been limited to the discussion of typological categories, and on the other, modern ideas about the artist and his/her place in society have coloured her interpretations (Chippindale & Gill 1995, 134), an approach that relates to the way Greek classical vase-painting and sculpture have been studied. A similar strategy concerning the attribution of Cycladic figurines to specific Masters has also been followed by Renfrew, though his attempts to establish a typological schema through the available EC figurines (1969, 1977b) should be recognised as a genuine attempt to bring order in the otherwise limited and poorly preserved archaeological record and enable a systematic study of the available material. However, the concern with the detection of specific Masters, as well as the formulation of evolutionary typological schemata, have been rightly attacked on the grounds that such attempts relied heavily on unprovenanced and hence possibly forged pieces which automatically cast doubts on their reliability of their results (Chippindale & Gill 1995, 133). The political implications of the study of questionable collections, and the naming of Masters after the collectors or Museum collections, as well as the expressed aesthetic appreciation, further perpetuates the looting and illegal trading of Cycladic figurines (Broodbank 1992; Gill & Chippindale 1993).

The problems arising from such limiting approaches and from the projection of modernist ideas onto prehistoric artefacts have been realised and brought to our attention by Broodbank (1992) and Gill & Chippindale (1993) which, I hope, will lead to more careful and systematic research on EBA Aegean figurines. Another bias that will also require correction is the isolation of Cycladic figurines from the wider EBA Aegean by adopting a holistic approach which will encompass the Cycladic assemblage in the wider eidoloplastic and symbolic repertoire of that time.

- **Androcentric biases**

Not only have studies of EBA Aegean figurines largely been approached from an art historical perspective and lack a theoretical discussion, they are also characterised by uncritical androcentricism. Interestingly enough, even the supporters of the Mother-Goddess theory postulated that the matriarchal Neoltihic was followed by the hostile Indo-European androcracy, a point that has been repeated by a number of scholars working on EBA figurines inside and outside the Aegean. I believe that the androcentricism that characterises these interpretations is a direct result of the absence of critical theorisation in those works. My objection is not based on the grounds of political correctness, but on the formulation of interpretative models lacking the supportive evidence that would prove the supremacy of men over women. In attempts to explain and justify gender inequality that characterises modern society today, the EBA period has been selected as that moment in time when we can place the subordination of women. In order to build that scenario for the EBA Aegean, unprovenanced figurines have been viewed as supportive evidence, while at the same time certain features of female figurines have been ignored or distorted, not intentionally, I believe, but more as a result of awkwardness of scholars when the evidence challenged the accepted social model.

Some works have argued for the emergence of patriarchy already from the Final Neolithic, (Bolger 1996; Orphanides 1982 and Morris 1985 on Cypriot Chalcolithic figurines). Frankel (1997) has already criticised Bolger (1996) for her selective use of evidence to support the model for gender inequality. In the case of the other two works, female figurines from burials have been uncritically interpreted as servants, concubines and goddesses of sexual character, betraying androcentric biases. The same idea has also been put forward for the explanation of Aegean figurines by Fitton (1989) and Sherratt (2000). Sherratt has taken female Cycladic figurines to be symbols of women's low status: "...we have the plausible emergence of a general picture in which the acquisition of women from other island communities by exchange (and perhaps even sometimes by force) forms an important part of elite male ideology and lifestyle in an environment in which male and female social and economic roles are likely to have been increasingly differentiated, and in which women - no less than silver drinking cups or livestock - can be seen in their own

right, with the ability to confer status on their possessors. Whether the figurines were actually thought of us representing goddesses, votaries, mortal wives and concubines, or anything else we shall probably never know for sure..." (2000, 135-6). As if that statement does not express enough prejudice against women with no supportive archaeological evidence, Sherratt pushes the argument even further by assuming a pornographic role played by female Cycladic figurines: "At its extreme, the collection of Early Cycladic figurines sometimes appears almost as a form of soft pornography-though, in a way, this may indeed reflect at least some aspect of the ideas originally embodied in them, if we are right in linking them with an image of women which incorporates the notion of nubility combined with the practice of exogamy sometimes, perhaps, achieved by force...Certainly, some of them seem to have been well handled..."(!) (2000, 152, note 76).

Androcentric biases have also been expressed regarding the thematic modelling of EBA Aegean figurines which embodies symbolically the social superiority of men over women. One common argument refers to the existence of male 'hunter-warriors' that represented the male ideal as opposed to passive and subordinate women. The projection of modernist ideas regarding masculinity found expression through the study of such male figurines. All of the hunter-warrior figurines, however, that have been widely discussed are pieces of unsafe provenance (Gill & Chippindale 1993). We have only one example preserved in drawing form at the British Museum which depicts a male hunter-warrior figurine, but that does not justify the epistemological failure to ensure that interpretations are based on solid ground. A resulting assumption from the social model of "man the hunter-warrior" has been the automatic association of women with a passive and subordinate role (servants, concubines, exchangeable commodities) that I have already discussed. Along the same lines of argumentation, I would also add the assumption that the seated figurines represent only men (read as expression of authority). As my analysis will show, an almost equal number of male and female figurines were modelled as seated which again exposes the scholars' unwillingness to move away from a traditional gender model. In addition, Cycladic 'musician' figurines have all been taken to represent men, and hence symbolised a special place held by men in EC society. A closer look at the evidence, however, will demonstrate that a number of them are, in fact, void of anatomical attributes, which suggests a more complex gender symbolism in the figurines. A final point to add, which again illustrates the difficulty of scholars to attribute to women a more dynamic role, has

been the 'perverse' misinterpretation of "powerful" figurines as male when in fact they represented female or ambiguous models. I have come across three such examples, which indicate the prejudices that govern the interpretations of figurines as reflections of gender roles in EBA Aegean society.

- **The way forward**

As has become apparent, the study of EBA Aegean figurines remains outside the new theoretical debates in archaeology. Unlike the situation with the Neolithic figurines, the study of which has been characterised by innovative trends, the analysis of EBA figurines has been fragmented and has remained static. I have been able to isolate only three promising recent articles, one by Oustinoff (1984) on the experimental aspect of figurine manufacture and its implications, as well as ones by Hoffman (2002) and Papadatos (2003) which aimed to link figurines with the lives of real people and the symbolism that they represented. In addition, the recent article by Talalay (2005) offers a positive and encouraging view on the scope for further gender approaches to the iconographic evidence from the Mediterranean. Also the work by Whitehouse (2001) on Copper Age and EBA Italy provides a promising example of how we can incorporate complementary data to the study of figurines, as a way of producing a more holistic interpretation of symbolism and social processes. Along with the methodology and theoretical perspective that the more recent works on Neolithic figurines have to offer, two more works by Hitchcock (1997) and Pilali-Papasteriou (1989) on Middle Minoan anthropomorphic figurines can also provide us with a promising avenue for research which focuses on unveiling the embodiment of social personae as expressed through figurines in posture and general attire. Despite the delay of EBA Aegean figurine studies in catching up with the new trends in archaeology, I believe that the most recent works are signs that the need for a more theorised approach has been recognised and I am optimistic that more such works will follow.

II. CAN WE INTERPRET FIGURINES?

The question that now needs to be addressed is "Can we interpret figurines?", a title borrowed from the particularly optimistic articles by Hamilton *et al* (1996). The answer given in this study is affirmative, as should become apparent by the end of this chapter.

The problems in earlier interpretations are a reason why many archaeologists have lost their faith in the study of figurines. Alternatively, archaeologists' pessimism springs from the idea that figurines are simply passive reflections of past societies' social organisation and ideology. Though figurines do reflect some aspects of the nature of the society and their producers, it would be greatly restrictive if we did not acknowledge the full potential of symbolic objects. Apart from offering an insight into the way such symbols constructed people's identity in relation to others and the world around them, they also have the ability to communicate messages in the realm of everyday life and that is where archaeologists can detect patterns of power negotiation among different interest groups (*cultural hegemony*) (Beaudry *et al* 1991). Though we are not advised in the article how we can get to those patterns, the implication that figurines as symbols were active social agents involved in quotidian activities creates optimism that their meaning can be accessible to archaeologists. More specific guidance regarding how we can interpret symbolic objects is offered by structuralist approaches. Artefacts can be found in particular patterns of similarities, correlations and differences, the reading of which reveals their meaningfulness and the way any given society organised and understood their world (Hodder 1987, 5). Artefacts, however, can be meaningful only if they are analysed in their context, while the use of ethnohistorical analogies can minimise the risk of "misreadings" (Hodder 1987, 6). Along the same lines, Tilley (1989) has argued that if we move from the study of the objects themselves to their relationship with their organisational order, archaeologists can reveal the meaning behind these patterns, as long as they are approached as a contextual social act (1989, 188). Optimism that we can unveil the meaning of artefacts has also been expressed by Fletcher (1989, 38-9) who has argued that the relational patterns of their arrangement can be analysed to reveal the intention behind human behaviour, which is directly accessible to the archaeologists through the material record of past societies. Richardson, referring to the artefact as an abbreviated act, argues that what an archaeologist encounters through excavation is a "world that is there, a world that awaits him [sic] to create the

appropriate structure so that it may speak once again of the human struggle" (1989, 176). Structuralist approaches, however, despite the optimism they offer about the decoding of the messages communicated by artefacts, can also be criticised for their view of the world in terms of binary oppositions or restricting patterns which underestimate the complexity of human behaviour. What I keep from structuralist approaches for my own research, however, is their suggestion that artefacts do form certain patterns, the analysis of which can be particularly telling of the way past societies defined themselves and organised the world around them. In addition, their suggestion that artefacts need to be analysed in relation to their context is another methodological guide that plays a fundamental role in the archaeologists' interpretative task.

We have seen how figurines, like any other category of material culture, can be approached so as to reveal the messages they embody. Figurines' symbolic nature, however, also places them in the realm of art. By 'art', I don't refer to aestheticism in the strict sense, but to the figurines' quality not to be restricted to a purely utilitarian circulation and the extent to which their 'beauty' could further enhance their symbolic effects, i.e. their ability to act on the senses and emotions. Bearing in mind figurines' simultaneous material symbolic and artistic qualities, we can begin to link them with theories regarding their active communicative role and our ability to decode their messages. A way to avoid perceiving figurines in a simplistic way is to realise, as Talalay (1993) has suggested, that figurines are products of deliberate acts with the intention of playing numerous roles, such as maintaining or undermining social conditions and socially-constructed identities. A similarly optimistic message comes from Layton (1991) who makes a distinction between theories of linguistic meaning on the one hand, and art on the other. Referring to Saussure's (1959) theory concerning language, that the *signifier* (word) is meaningful only through its association with the *signified* (the corresponding concept), Layton has argued that a distinctive feature of art objects (but also, symbolic forms in general, I would add) lies in the fact that they, unlike words, do resemble what they portray, but they also communicate ideas which in turn can represent other symbolic messages. For that reason, Layton suggests that we should view art objects as similar to road signs or trademarks, an idea which allows us to argue that, even though figurines were manufactured and used in prehistoric times, because of their resemblance to the represented objects, which are identifiable and recognisable, we *can* get a grasp of the possible symbolism that they were

intended to convey, despite the culturally arbitrary nature of art objects. Art objects, however, are not arbitrary in a way similar to language, since there is a link between objects and what they represent, but vary in what aspects cultures select as symbolic expressions. Symbolic and art forms in particular, therefore, can be read and understood on an elementary level, despite their specific cultural contexts.

Developing the argument that it is possible to interpret figurines, and that symbolic objects do have a use and are capable of transmitting symbolic meanings, we should then proceed with trying to decode their symbolism. In order to achieve this, we must realise, as Hamilton (1996) suggested [also argued by Beaudry *et al* (1991), Fletcher (1989), Hodder (1987), Tilley (1989) and Richardson (1989)], that we need to place figurines in their specific cultural and temporal framework, and not interpret them as isolated artefacts divorced from their material culture context. If we ignore the cultural context of figurines, we run the risk of perceiving them only as objects of aesthetic value and the insights they can offer into the lives of prehistoric people elude us. A useful suggestion has been made by Tilley (1989) and Haaland & Haaland (1996) who argue that archaeologists would also find helpful to employ ethnographic descriptions (admittedly with a degree of caution) and results from experimental archaeology regarding their production. Finally, a way to move beyond our own preconceptions is to move away from restrictive classification systems, and to consider our suggestions concerning the figurines in association with the implications deriving from them, as argued by Ucko (1996).

Finally, incorporating the ideas expressed by Panofsky, we can see how figurines can be interpreted by archaeologists as primarily symbolic and secondarily art forms. Panofsky (1972, 3-17) has identified three stages by which we can approach art objects. The first stage "Primary and Secondary Subject Matter" (which Panofsky also terms as *pre-iconographical*) deals with the form and appearance of the object and only requires a familiarity with the object and its relational state with events. The next stage "Secondary and Conventional Subject Matter" concentrates on how art objects reflect and are associated with ideas and themes, a stage which refers to the subject matter of art, rather than its form, the understanding of which presupposes a familiarity with these particular themes and concepts. The final stage, "Intrinsic Meaning or Content" (*Iconographical Interpretation*), deals with the deeper meaning of art and the symbolism which lies behind

it and that requires what Panofsky terms "synthetic intuition" referring to the understanding of how the human mind is expressed through symbolism and concepts. The relevance of Panofsky's ideas for the analysis of prehistoric figurines is that it demonstrates a sequence of processes, all of which are also involved in figurine interpretation. What we need to be concerned with, therefore, should initially be the form and the representational subject of a figurine, followed by the theme connected with that representation, and finally the symbolism which is expressed through it. All three stages are necessary, especially as prehistoric art is far removed from our present day culture, and that is why we need to be conscious of how from the identification of the subject matter we arrive at the symbolism behind the figurines. In addition, the element of *familiarity* with the art that Panofsky refers to, for archaeological purposes should take the form of familiarity with the wider cultural and archaeological context of the art object under study, as well as how the relevant themes or concepts are expressed through other material media. The final stage, referring to the deeper meaning of art symbolism, is the one which presents most difficulty for an archaeologist and the *synthetic intuition* required can be aided through the employment of anthropological analogies and what I would term *archaeological intuition*, the mental flexibility and 'inspiration' which is required for the necessary 'leap' from the materiality of the evidence to the re-enacted dimension where people and objects are brought to life. I should make clear, however, that the term *archaeological intuition* does not imply unfounded, imaginary assumptions, but refers to the mental transition that all archaeologists go through when moving between material evidence and the construction of interpretative scenarios, what Hodder termed "creative insight and historical imagination" (1989, 7).

I hope it has become clear, therefore, that a positive approach to interpretation is justified, provided that we are aware of our limitations to 'enter' the minds of prehistoric people, which in turn urges us to create theoretical and methodological models to overcome the evidential constraints and to ensure that unconscious (or even conscious) biases will not influence our interpretations. I would even add that we *must* interpret figurines because we simply cannot afford to ignore or avoid them any longer. They represent a type of evidence which, in a prehistoric context, has multiple dimensions of meaning, such as the issues of sex/gender, self-awareness, the cognitive elements involved in the selective modelling of the human form, the question of ideology, as well as the wider socio-political and economic processes in which they were active.

III. RELEVANT THEORETICAL THEMES

The theoretical perspective that I have selected treats the figurines on three levels: (a) as a category of material culture, (b) as a category of symbolic material culture, and (c) as symbolic material culture with characteristics of art forms, in the anthropological understanding of the term. My intention is to move away from the tyranny of aesthetics that has often hindered the interpretation of figurines, especially Bronze Age ones, as objects divorced from their cultural context, and to treat them instead as a material manifestation of their culture, which needs to be studied in the epistemological context of anthropology and interpretative archaeology. Secondly, I have deliberately chosen to approach both Neolithic and EBA figurines from the same perspective, in order to bridge the artificial gap that has been created between the two categories in Aegean prehistory.

ART AS SYMBOLIC MATERIAL CULTURE

- **Figurines and the 'art' of symbolic materialism**

Figurines, like any other category of artefact, are part of the material culture of the Neolithic and EBA Aegean. Because, however, the characteristics of figurines indicate that they resemble humans and were therefore used emblematically, we should also recognise their symbolic dimension. I will aim to link anthropological theories regarding art with the perspective of material culture symbolism. I use this theoretical overlap for the study of anthropomorphic figurines because while they are part of the material culture record of Aegean prehistory, they also possess qualities that set them apart from utilitarian objects. I regard figurines as artistic forms because (a) they were not restricted to a utilitarian role, and (b) because they resemble what they represent (see Layton 1991), i.e humans. Moreover, figurines were powerful symbolic and artistic forms by appealing to cultural notions of beauty which could affect people at a sensual and emotional level (Boas 1955; Layton 1991). What is aesthetically acceptable, however, and the messages art conveys are culturally-specific and for that reason they need to be read in their cultural context.

Also relevant is the discussion of style and how it can be read as a medium to decode meaning expressed through art. Style is an inherent part of art, which Hodder has explained as "a particular way of doing things", "thinking, feeling, being" (1990a, 45). Moreover, Roe (1995) has concluded that style in art is characterised by the following properties: recognisability, virtuosity, medium-dependency, contextual interrelationship, and results from a series of choices which renders it as an affect. Hatcher (1985) and Conkey (1990) have pointed out the use of style for detecting cultural similarities and differences. Hodder (1990a), however, warns against drawing simplistic assumptions about the meaning of style since it can be deliberately ambiguous with multiple dimensions. Accepting that style may be seen as a reflection of a cultural system in the tradition of New Archaeology, a new trend of thinking about style points out that stylistic forms communicated ideas intentionally in order to shape a certain social reality (Conkey & Hastorf 1990; Hodder 1990a). In order to understand the active dimension of style, archaeologists should aim to detect the choices which led to the particular stylistic forms in a specific cultural context (Braun 1995; Conkey 1990). The study of style, therefore, should be analysed by archaeologists as an opportunity to gain an insight into the processes and changes of socio-economic phenomena (Conkey 1990; Hodder 1990a). Since style is culturally and socially-specific, it needs to be analysed and interpreted in its cultural context (Conkey and Hastorf 1990).

In order to keep my analysis and interpretation grounded on the foundations of archaeology and anthropology, however, I have chosen to bridge the materiality of the figurines with their more abstract dimension by emphasising the overlap between symbolic material culture and art. Figurines, because of their representative theme, added semantic features and their context of recovery suggesting an association with ideology, indicate that they communicated symbolic messages. If we now add their artistic qualities mentioned earlier, we reach the conclusions that figurines operated primarily on the level of material symbolism. In fact, I would term art a subcategory of symbolic material culture. Moreover, the theories on art that have developed in the field of anthropology (as opposed to art history) can further elucidate aspects of the figurines which in association with the materialism of the archaeological perspective can offer a more holistic understanding.

- **Material symbolism and (art)efacts as social products**

Material culture, on a first level embodies aspects of the society in which it was created and that is why the analysis of figurines reveals important social facets of the culture that produced them. Material culture has been viewed as a medium through which individuals construct their identity in relation to others and the world around them (Beaudry *et al* 1991). The observed patterns in the material record, therefore, reveal how society was organised and how its members understood their surrounding world (Hodder 1987, 7). Moreover, the relational patterns between objects reflect their meaning (Tilley 1989, 188), as well as the intention behind human behaviour (Fletcher 1989, 39) and the prevailing social values (Hodder 1987, 1). As Tilley has argued, therefore, material culture serves to store social information (1989, 189) and preserve the operating social codes. Furthermore, the communicative role of symbolic material culture has also been supported by other scholars, such as Wobst (1977) and DeMarrais *et al* (1996), while symbols have even been taken to indicate predictable "economies of representation" (Robb 1998, 332). Bearing in mind the quality of material culture, and more so of symbolic artefacts, to communicate social messages as products of a given culture and as instruments of social acts, we can decode the information they carry as a way of gaining an insight into the nature of Aegean prehistoric society.

Wolff (1993) and Washburn (1983) have argued that art is the product of the society generating it and as such it is influenced by the economic, political, ideological and historical factors which shape that society. Because the artist is a social product of a specific society, his/her preconceptions about the world, others and him/herself, 'colour' and determine the products resulting from their mental and creative processes (Geertz 1993; Washburn 1983). Wolff (1993), however, though she accepts that artists and their work are determined and influenced by social and historical conditions, has also argued that we need to allow the expression of an individual agent introducing innovation as a result of a specific combination of social conditions. It becomes apparent, therefore, that material culture and its symbolism are embedded in the social context that created them on a number of levels. Because material culture is instrumental in the way individuals are defined,

society is organised and the world is categorised, its study can unlock the meaningful symbolism that prevailed in past societies.

- **Dynamic material symbolisms and art(efacts)**

Some of the more dynamic aspects of material symbolism have already emerged from the previous discussion. One is the ability of such objects to construct the identity of social members (Beaudry *et al* 1991; Tilley 1981; Richardson 1981) and, in turn, culture (Tilley 1989, 198; 1999, 76) and the world around them (Beaudry *et al* 1991, 154). Material symbolism also expresses social identity at a group level and a socio-economic consciousness which sets classes of people apart from others belonging to the same society (Beaudry *et al* 1991, 154). Tilley has also argued that material culture is in a dialectic relationship between things and social conditions (1999, 76) implying a mutually shaping dependency between materiality and social behaviour in the wider sense. Tilley (1989) has explained that material culture in general, apart from being the result of a shared code, is also a shaping agent that constructs individuals (1989, 189). The relationship, therefore, between material culture categories themselves and between material culture and society is far from simple and is dynamic at different levels (1989, 188). In addition, material culture can take a number of forms, depending on the intention of the producers to preserve or challenge a social system or simply to preserve social information (1989, 189). Tilley, however, places a special emphasis on the ability of material culture to act as medium through which culture is constructed, rather than on the individual constructing material culture (1989, 198; 1999, 76). Things "are active rather than passive and dialectically related to their social conditions of existence" (1999, 76). Finally, Tilley, borrowing the idea of Kopytoff (1986) about the biographies of things and extending the argument of metaphorical anthropomorphism, suggests that things are constructed in a metaphorical and similar way to the biographical treatment of people (1999, 76). Above all, however, material culture is an active constructing agent through its ability to communicate social messages in everyday life and on special occasions (Bailey 1996; Beaudry *et al* 1991; Layton 1991).

Turning now to art as a category of material symbolism, and how it has been viewed from an anthropological perspective, its communicative role has also been stressed by Boas (1955), Hatcher (1985) and more recently Layton (1991). Layton has argued that the symbolism represented by art objects is culturally arbitrary and has a meaning only in the cultural context that has generated those symbols. As the symbolism is perceived as meaningful by the society that produces these objects, it follows that they act as 'crests' or markers for that cultural group. Through the communicative quality of material culture, art symbolism either maintains or challenges a social system (Tilley 1989, 189) and the same has been argued for the case of anthropomorphic figurines (Talalay 1993). The acceptance that (symbolic) material culture is active, has implications for the use of art forms in society. Moreover, because art is the result of deliberate actions that empower it to communicate symbolic messages, it follows that it too is active in the sense that it can either (a) maintain the status quo, or (b) challenge it. Hatcher (1985) has argued that art can maintain the social equilibrium by acting as a safety valve which releases social tensions through the expression of aesthetic pleasure which unites people of the same culture and by reinforcing and conveying the behaviour which is socially accepted. A similar point is also made by Tanner (1992), who argues on the basis of ideas developed by Parsons, that art objects can express the symbolic messages and meanings which in turn control the relationship of the social system with its members. In this way feelings are easily communicated in the cultural form of art and the aesthetics attached to art objects can determine the reproduction or growth of the social system of which they are part (1992, 174-5). As I have already discussed therefore, what makes art more effective, in comparison to other symbolic forms, is that its aesthetic nature aims at the emotions and senses of the audience. Appealing to the human psyche can trigger powerful reactions in the cultural context that art is a product of.

Apart from maintaining the status quo, material culture can also have a challenging role in society (Tilley 1989, 189). The way this can be achieved is when material culture operates in the context of power relationships, when authority is negotiated among interest groups in the process of *cultural hegemony* (Beaudry *et al* 1991). In such cases, material culture forms power relationships and creates boundaries on the basis of social differentiation (Beaudry *et al* 1991, 155). Moreover, material culture can be employed in the context of domination and resistance between dominant and subordinate social groups (Paynter &

McGuire 1991). Because power relationships are dialectic, rather than a one-way imposed domination, and since they are also present in the most mundane aspects of life (parent-child, men-women), material culture is active in this way on a daily basis (Paynter & McGuire 1991). Resistance plays a central role in the context of power relationships and provides the negotiating basis against the imposition of domination and that is where material culture is employed and manipulated accordingly (*heterogeneity of domination, heterogeneity of resistance*, p.12) (Paynter & McGuire 1991). The undercurrent way in which material culture can have an overturning effect is due to the inherent quality of materiality (*non verbal*) to often contradict social behaviour (*verbal*) and it is this source of ambiguity and the collision of the two systems when new meanings are created (Fletcher 1989, 38).

Similar arguments have also been suggested in relation to art symbolism. Hatcher has argued that art does not always maintain social order, as it also has the potential power to employ new symbols that challenge and overthrow the status quo. Such changes may have developed in order to express a new ideological order, though it is equally possible that the same symbols continue to be used with a change in meaning. A final point made by Wolff (1993) is that dominant groups often have art production under their control and thereby can manipulate it for their own purposes, although I would argue that is not always the case in societies where the manufacture of art objects takes place in individual household clusters which are not centrally controlled. On the basis of the theory developed by Williams (1973, 1977), Wolff has made the suggestion that art ideologies may have been developed in the past, but are active in the present (*residual*), and they may have developed as an expression of protest by a marginal group (*emergent*), or as existing side-by-side with the dominant ideology (*alternative*) (1993, 53).

In summary, though material culture and art symbolism encapsulate useful information regarding the past societies that they are the products of, we need to be cautious not to interpret them as direct reflections of the messages they seem to represent. As Robb has suggested, it is the meaning of symbolic objects that affect their use (1998, 340) and it is the understanding of this meaning that can offer us an insight into the beliefs and values of past societies and a way we can get to these meanings is to approach symbolic objects through a relational and cross-referential analysis of the evidence in its cultural context (see

Robb 1998, 341). At the same time, however, we need to recognise that material culture (and even more so art symbolic culture with a higher degree of ambiguity) was often manipulated purposefully in the processes of power negotiation between different interest groups and may have had a stabilising or challenging effect. This dynamic and dialectic relationship between materiality and social behaviour is a very important aspect which can aid archaeologists to interpret the symbolic material record of past societies.

IV. A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY OF PREHISTORIC ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINES

In this section I will present how the theoretical themes discussed in Part *III* are directly relevant for the study of the anthropomorphic figurines of the prehistoric Aegean. I will explain how these perspectives can aid the analysis of prehistoric figurines though a selective choice and justification will be necessary for the formulation of the theoretical perspective I will be employing.

IV a. PREHISTORIC FIGURINES AS SYMBOLIC AND ART MATERIAL CULTURE

In Part *III* I linked the aspects of material symbolisms and art by illustrating the overlap between the two categories. It is exactly this overlap that I consider particularly appropriate and productive for the study of prehistoric figurines from the Aegean. Starting with the idea of material symbolism, figurines need to be approached as such because, according to the notion of 'symbol' (a) they were used in place of something else *or* were commonly agreed to represent something else, and (b) had an emblematic use. The anthropomorphism of the figurines indicates that they stood for humans on one level, while on a second level they were loaded with an added symbolic (ideological, existential) layer of meaning.

I will now move on to the idea that figurines represented art forms. This point requires a more detailed justification following the misapprehension resulting from earlier interpretations conducted in the field of art history. Moreover, in the light of the ongoing process of selling and auctioning of art objects of archaeological significance, we need to clarify what we, as archaeologists, define as art, since 'art' (especially outside archaeology) has been associated with the appreciation of beauty and aestheticism. A valid question for the study of any prehistoric art is whether the objects under study were intended to be perceived as art. A useful point made by Hatcher (1985) is that even though a society may not have produced material culture as art, that does not mean that the recognition by an observer that it is art should render its study within this framework invalid. In addition, art forms can be recognised on the basis of their aesthetics (which operated in the case of

Aegean figurines to a higher or lesser degree) and their deliberate intention to appeal to an audience's emotions. The emblematic form of the figurines, as well the special care that was often taken for their manufacture, suggests that unlike other artefacts, they need to be placed apart from ordinary objects. More specifically, I have termed prehistoric figurines as art on the basis of the definitions given by Boas (1955), Hatcher (1985) and Layton (1991) (see Part *III*) which have been developed in the field of anthropology, rather than art history and which places figurines in their cultural context. More importantly, relating the artistic qualities of figurines to the wider frame of material symbolism grounds the interpretation in the discipline of archaeology and creates the appropriate nexus for the treatment of figurines as another category of Aegean material culture.

IV b. PREHISTORIC FIGURINES AS SOCIAL PRODUCTS

Prehistoric figurines, as a category of art material symbolism, can offer us useful insights into aspects of past societies. Such a hypothesis, however, should not be taken to suggest a static and one-dimensional use or a predictive capacity, according to the processualist tradition (see Robb 1998, 332). A very important quality of material art symbolism is the ability to either maintain or challenge a social system and for that reason we need to avoid approaching figurines as simple reflections of past societies. A high degree of both ambiguity and deliberate manipulation should be expected as an integral part of material art symbolism, which would problematise our interpretations. The operating mechanisms, therefore, as well as the choices made by the manufacturers of the figurines signal those cultural factors that affected their form, use and circulation.

Figurines, like other forms of material symbolism, offer us insights into ancient minds and the social order of past societies because they are embedded in the cultural nexus which produced them. Because the manufacturers were socially situated, it follows that their products were also culturally specific, as suggested by Wolff (1993) and Washburn (1983) for art objects. In addition, the study of figurines expresses how the craftsperson perceived his/her socially constructed identities in their own cultural context and in relation to others. The attributes that the craftsperson chooses to emphasise or omit are the result of a mental,

but also experiential process (conscious or unconscious), which reflects how he/she has learned the social position that they held in their specific cultural system (see Hamilton *et al* 1996 and Talalay 1993). However, we need to be cautious as to what we receive through art objects, because the craftsperson always allows his/her subjective perception to colour how he/she recognises and understands socially-constructed identities.

In conclusion, I would like to clarify that, unlike the "symbols as tokens" view (see Robb 1998), I do not argue that symbolic material culture should be read as a direct reflection of past societies. Though symbols may store social information (Tilley 1989, 189) when needed, and do have a communicative role (Beaudry *et al* 1991, 150), they are, however, easily susceptible to deliberate manipulations. Material symbols are in a dialectic relationship with people and for that reason we need to be cautious before reading figurines as direct reflections of past societies. The study of the patterns created by figurines, as well as the relational analysis with other artefact categories and symbols, can elucidate further when material symbols may have been used in unison or contrast with the existing social order. Whatever the situation may be, however, figurines afford us an insight into the minds and lives of the prehistoric inhabitants of the Aegean.

IV c. PREHISTORIC FIGURINES AS DYNAMIC SYMBOLS

In this section I will now focus on the aspect of symbols to 'disguise' rather than directly reflect social order, an ability I term here 'dynamic'. While the view of figurines as "social products" concerns the observing role of the archaeologist looking into symbols and ancient people, in this case, I will turn the discussion to the operational aspects of symbols themselves in their cultural context as they can be reconstructed in our interpretations of past societies.

The first dynamic aspect of prehistoric figurines is that they can construct personal and group identities (see Bailey 1996, Beaudry *et al* 1991, Boas 1955, Hatcher 1985, Layton 1991, Richardson 1981, Tilley 1981). Moreover, the messages that figurines communicated were the result of deliberate choices (Talalay 1993; see Tilley 1989, 189). The idea that

figurines were deliberately shaped or even manipulated as a way of ensuring effective communication has also been employed in the archaeological interpretations of Campo (1994), Chapman (2000, 2001), Kokkinidou & Nikolaidou (1997) and Talalay (1993). On a more theoretical level, the way products of art achieve the perpetuation of the status-quo is by expressing a shared aesthetic code which united people of the same culture and reinforced and controlled socially-accepted behaviour (Hatcher 1985, Tanner 1992). An example of how prehistoric Aegean figurines may have operated as a "safety-valve" (see Hatcher 1985), is the suggestion that they were possibly used to emphasise the cultural links between communities through decoration and form, or to play out socially accepted gender behaviour. An interesting case has been made by Bailey (1996) in connection to Balkan figurines, who suggests that figurines depicted social members in a visible medium, and were thus powerful because they presented social identities as 'objective' and naturally expected in a way that could be used to measure social behaviour and, I would add, even perhaps reward or punish conformity or deviance.

Alternatively, figurines may have been manipulated in order to challenge and overturn the social order (see Hatcher 1985, Tilley 1989, 189 and Wolff 1993). Because I view figurines as playing a central role in the negotiating process of power relationships (political or cultural) (see Beaudry *et al* 1991; Paynter & McGuire 1991, 11, 15), their form, decoration and representational theme were deliberate choices resulting from their symbolic manipulation. The power negotiations between different interest groups are governed by an ongoing process of domination and resistance (Paynter & McGuire 1991, 12) in which figurines were employed and manipulated accordingly. Figurines may have played an instrumental role in challenging the social order at group level by creating an ambiguity resulting from the collision between acted out social behaviour and their material form (see Beaudry *et al* 1991, 155; Fletcher 1989, 38). We also need to accept the possibility that more than one ideology may have existed in the same culture (Wolff 1991, 53) without leading to violent reactions or drastic change. The point made by Wolff is clearly demonstrated by the interpretation of Bailey (1994a) in which he recognises two ideologies being expressed through figurines, each of which portrays a different, gender-specific way of experiencing and perceiving the same social system that he termed "homology" and "propaganda".

I hope I have demonstrated, therefore, that figurines need to be freed from earlier approaches in which they are viewed as static objects with the sole intention to aesthetically please the members of past societies or decorate private collections and galleries today. The dynamic elements of figurines should play a central role in our understanding and interpretation by placing them in their cultural context and in relation to symbolism in other artefact categories, as Robb has rightly suggested (1998, 341). For all these reasons, we need to avoid seeing figurines as a direct reflection of early prehistoric Aegean and to start realising the complexity with which they operated at a symbolic level.

V. A STUDY OF GENDER IN EARLY AEGEAN PREHISTORY THROUGH FIGURINE MATERIAL SYMBOLISM

Despite notable exceptions, the prevailing situation in Aegean figurine studies shows a remarkable lack of research interests in gender. It is this inadequacy that I wish to rectify by proposing a gender approach which aims to cover gaps in our knowledge of early Aegean society and economy, and in turn revise earlier biases regarding gender roles. In the sections that follow I discuss how I employ the framework of gender archaeology and how figurines fit into the proposed perspective in the context of early Aegean prehistory.

V a. GENDER ARCHAEOLOGY: A POLITICAL AGENDA

It is necessary first to clarify the two terms of 'feminist' and 'gender' archaeology which are often used as synonymous. Feminist perspectives have their origin in the 1960s when feminism influenced the work of anthropologists. Feminist archaeology, however, only emerged in the 1980s and turned archaeologists' attention to androcentric biases which had influenced our perceptions of the past. Though feminist archaeology intended to give women a place in history, it often resulted in the type of gynocentric biases discussed earlier. Feminist archaeology serves the very specific political purpose of including and giving women a central place in history, which admittedly offers critical narratives of the past. Gender archaeology, however, is concerned with how gender is active and dynamic in the construction and manipulation of social identities (Dobres 1995), as well as how gender is involved in socio-political and economic processes. Gender archaeology, therefore, is obviously concerned with women and their place in history, although, in contrast to feminist archaeology, it is also inclusive of men and is concerned with how genders are constructed through their interactive relationship in daily life (the latter also being a research interest of feminist archaeologists). Gender archaeology also requires critical thinking of how the past has been interpreted in terms of gender and how we could overcome our modern-day preconceptions to offer an alternative or complementary explanation. In addition, gender archaeology involves the development of a methodological and theoretical framework, suitable for the purposes of gender analysis.

Before I explain how and why I think figurines are particularly suitable for the purposes of gender archaeology, I would first like to be explicit about my own research agenda and interests, since I believe that being aware of the political interests which form our interpretations, and making our readers aware of them, can lead to fewer uncritical hypotheses. My opinion, therefore, is that the past is often interpreted by imposing our own social preconceptions on how prehistoric societies may have been organised, causing the entrapment of gendered actors in our own social models. One of the reasons for this discrepancy is that it is not always recognised that gender is not necessarily a bi-polar concept with a one-to-one correlation to biological sex. We tend to forget that gender is a complex term which is related to age and crucial stages in someone's life, possibly also encompassing the possibility of a third gender or more genders.

One of my main concerns is that Aegean prehistory has been largely based on accounts which have favoured men over any other social category. I consider such narratives prejudiced, with a narrow scope for a rounded understanding of Aegean society. In the light of such drawbacks, women will also need to be viewed beyond those interpretations which often equated them with their 'natural' roles of motherhood and fertility, leaving them out of spheres of socio-political and economic action. When there is no mention of other gendered identities beyond that of male actors, the past stays 'mute' and impersonal. Moreover, such accounts generalise male experiences for society as a whole. We conduct studies on status, class and power struggles in past societies, but the actors shaping and being shaped by these conditions remain 'faceless' , 'bodyless' and abstract, because it is not realised that gender is actually involved in all these spheres of socio-political and economic negotiations [Gibbs (1987) 1998]. What I consider lacking from many interpretations, therefore, and what has in turn shaped my theoretical concerns, is that we need to make not only women visible in the archaeological record, but also to include in our interpretations a number of gender-related experiences lived by prehistoric individuals, such as children or elders or the possibility of one or more ambiguous genders. Through a gender approach, men can also be potentially viewed beyond the long-held stereotypes which trap them exclusively in the roles of hunters, warriors, or exploiters and prevent us from seeing the multiplicity of men's cultural roles in their societies and in relation to other genders. A gender approach, therefore, increases our awareness of the socio-political

factors which influence our interpretations, and being conscious of that restriction, can also help us to overcome our inherent assumptions and limitations.

V b. GENDER ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE STUDY OF ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINES

I believe that gender is not a concept that archaeologists impose and force on the archaeological record. Gender was and is a category which existed in societies and manifested itself in a multiplicity of ways. Gender is another social parameter tightly linked to, not divorced from, the social arenas of power, status, wealth, control, ideology, economics and politics. It is grounded not only in the abstract realm of ideology, but also in our quotidian activities and social relationships. As Conkey & Spector (1998) argue, the reason why women or other gender categories are 'invisible' archaeologically is not because the task of recognising them is impossible or idealistic, but is instead related to archaeologists' belief that the criteria they employ for the definition of gender identities are objective and applicable across time and culture. Gender, therefore, has the potential to be studied and traced in all spheres of economic, ideological and political activity as long as we adapt and widen our methodological approaches. Moreover, approaching prehistoric figurines in the context of gender archaeology will also allow me to contribute new information to our understanding of Aegean Neolithic and EBA societies. In addition, because figurines represent gendered people, or how gendered people wanted to perceive themselves and others, employing a gender approach will allow me to explore how social identities were negotiated and shaped in accordance to specific conditions and purposes. It will also provide an insight into the choices related to the manufacture of figurines, *what* the manufacturers wanted to represent and *what* messages they were trying to communicate and *why*. An effect of the application of a gender approach is that we will then avoid perceiving figurines as static objects of aesthetic value, or as symbols exclusively associated with women's procreative role.

On a different level, I believe that a gender approach serves well a number of theoretical and methodological purposes. A gender approach is anthropocentric, which suits the study of eidoloplastic representations of the human body. In turn, the analysis of the represented

human body requires a theoretical and methodological framework specifically developed for the study of gender. In addition, the process of figurine manufacture demonstrates the self-awareness of the manufacturer in terms of gender identity, but also his/her self-awareness through the daily interaction of other gendered people. An insight into the organisation of society in relation to gender and its symbolic embodiment has also been put forward regarding the deliberate moulding of the strongly 'corporeal' and uniform Neolithic figurines and the homogenising process active in Neolithic communities (Bailey 2005, 200). The modelling of anthropomorphic figurines, therefore, involves gendered actors at all levels of the process of construction and representation of gender identities. It becomes clear then that anthropomorphic figurines can serve the interests of gender archaeology in the most satisfactory way.

V c. GENDER AND SEX IN GENDER ARCHAEOLOGY: THEORY AND APPLICATION

A central point for the application of a gender approach is the theorisation of the terms 'sex' and 'gender'. As with other terms in archaeology, the terminology used in gender archaeology are still under construction and constant adjustment. Because of this it is necessary for me to explain how I intend to use the terms 'gender' and 'sex'.

Initially, we need to realise that the terms 'sex' and 'gender' have changed through time, reflecting among other things the changes in morality attached to the idea of sexuality. Caplan (1987, 24) has argued, therefore, that our understanding of sexuality is formed under specific cultural and economic circumstances and, depending on the historical context, they also serve specific political purposes. Because the notions of sex and gender are culturally situated, they do not have a universal explanation; such terms vary across time and space and they are the products of specific cultural and economic conditions (Gilchrist 1999; Meskell 1995; Moore 1994). In western societies, for instance, since the 1960s it is believed that sex refers to the biological and anatomical characteristics of the body, while gender is the sociological term used to explain the cultural expression of one's sexual behaviour and identity. The emergence of such observations created new academic

and political movements which argued that gender is associated with sexuality which in turn is tied to biological sex. We have been led to believe that sex is the objective, scientific truth, as opposed to the cultural and subjective understanding of gender. A different opinion has been expressed by Nordbladh and Yates (1990), as well as Lesick (1997) and Gilchrist (1999) who have argued that biology is more political than we would like to believe and that the distinctions between the two sexes, therefore, are not as unquestionable. In addition, evidence for the cultural nature of biological sex is offered by a number of societies where gender is not associated with their sexual features, but rather with their behaviour as moulded through social processes (see Gilchrist 1999, Moore 1994, Yates 1993).

The implication of the deeply political and cultural dimension of sex-gender terminology is that the use of biology for the legitimisation of our conclusions is not as neutral as we would like to believe, as Nordbladh and Yates (1990) point out. For that reason, we cannot apply our western perceptions of bi-polar sex and gender on the study of gender as formed in cultures which vary in space and time. What we need to realise, therefore, is that, in contrast to western cultural models, gender is not *only* tied to the body, but is also the result of a series of daily interactions with the others and the expected and accepted social roles which shape our gender identities rather than our corporeal 'fate' (Moore 1994; Yates 1993). The fact that our gender is not determined by our sexed bodies is also demonstrated by the cases of 'third genders', which though admittedly very rare, may include persons belonging to both genders (Fowler 2004, 25). Moreover, gender is not always a permanent category; it can be temporary and changing and some of the social strategies can produce deliberately ambiguous and changing gender identities (Fowler 2004, 25). The way we should approach the study of gender without equating the body with universal identities, as suggested by Moore (1994) and Meskell (1996), is to realise the variety and uniqueness in which individuals experience embodied practices in their cultural context. For example, age plays a crucial role in the construction of gender and the point at which a person reaches the attainment of full personhood varies cross-culturally (Fowler 2004, 26).

Admittedly there are a number of biology-related parameters which can be considered as potentially common shaping agents for the construction of gender, such as pregnancy and birth-giving for women. How gender behaviour is enacted, however, needs to be interpreted

in a given historical and cultural context without imposing our own assumptions. These are all issues that touch on the aspects of methodology in my research and that is why it is important to clarify how I will employ the terms gender and sex, though a more detailed discussion follows in *Chapter 4* on methodology.

In summary, 'sex' is a term that I use as a shorthand label for the representation of the anatomical attributes on figurines, or the lack of them ('Asexual') and should be read only as a methodological device for the recording of figurines in relation to their represented anatomy (hence its use in inverted commas). I choose to pay emphasis on the recording of the represented anatomy of the figurines because I believe that the body often underpins the categorisation of gender. Even in studies devoted to studying third genders, the patterns suggest that the rare occurrence of such classificatory categories cross-culturally may in fact reflect the strong tendency for a close association between biological reproduction and gender (Herdt 1994, 80). I do not wish, however, to suggest a pre-determined reading of gender on the basis of 'sexed' figurines and that is why my use of the term 'gender' at the level of interpretation constitutes of the correlation between the represented anatomy ('sex') on figurines *in addition* to the symbolism expressed through decoration, aspects of embodiment with which they were encoded, as well as contextual use. Meaningful patterns observed in other categories of material culture also serve to draw a more holistic understanding of gender enactment in prehistoric Aegean societies. This way I can avoid imposing contemporary gender categories on early Aegean prehistory and will instead rely on the observed relational patterns between figurines themselves with the array of their encoded symbolism and other forms of gender symbolism.

V d. GENDER AND THE BODY

Theories regarding the body are also valuable in my specific field of research, since the figurines were modelled in the shape of human bodies and were, therefore, affected by notions of corporeality and social identity as they were experienced by their manufacturers as active social actors and as observers at the same time.

How then is the (lived and, in this case, represented) body involved in the construction and performance of gender? The body has been theorised in the context of the gender and sex debate and was, therefore, equated with sex and the indisputable scientific 'truth' which determined its nature universally. The same trend also characterised liberal and Marxist feminist perspectives which relied on the biology/ideology distinction and neglected the aspect of social values and the way they were embedded in bodies (Gatens 1992, 295). Recent debates, however, have illustrated that while biology determines one's sex on the basis of one's body as an unquestionable category (recently including, however, anomalous cases), it is now becoming evident that such categorisations are deeply political and moralistic. We can no longer think, therefore, of the body (sex) as the opposite of social identity (gender) with the respective notions of objective 'truth' and subjective culture. Even though we need to be careful when using the body as an explanation for universal experiences, we should also be aware of the fact that gender is an identity which has its foundations on both biological experiences and cultural factors. As Gatens has argued from a deconstructive-feminist perspective, we need to challenge the idea that the biological body can account for universal capacities and needs (1992, 295). Instead, we should realise how the body is grounded in historical conditions and how the cultural environment moulds the body through particular tasks (Gatens 1992, 298). As a result, gender needs to be understood as the way in which power constructs the bodies, and not as an ideological effect (Gatens 1992, 299). Following the above debates, therefore, the biological body should not be used as a universal surface upon which we can presume its nature (masculine, feminine) cross culturally, or predict gender-related behaviours. I would like to differentiate myself, however, on one point from the proposed model presented by Gatens, and that is the issue of "biological commonality" (1992, 298). Even though the way we understand how biology operates is to a large extent a cultural construct (in contrast to our Western

accounts), the reproductive aspect of the female body can be argued to be a universal experience which may play a shaping role in the way women were perceived socially, without suggesting, however, that we should be expecting the same model of womanhood or motherhood operating across time and space.

The body plays an instrumental role in the way gender roles are expressed and performed. As Gatens has argued, the history of the body and the environment in which it operates have a great impact on the body and that is how we should also attempt to understand how men and women were created as categories and the particular tasks they performed (1992, 298). Gender identity, therefore, is internalised by and prescribed for the individual as a result of social conditioning (Aalten 1997). Aalten has demonstrated her ideas by concentrating on the study of the bodies of ballerinas which, in accordance with accepted notions of femininity, perform dance movements as an expression of their graceful, fragile femininity, unlike the bodies of male dancers which express masculinity and virility. Aalten, who is opposed to the binary ideas of sex and gender, suggests an alternative approach through her case study which demonstrates that gender has a great impact on our bodies which, in turn, internalise their social identity through our actions, interactions, movements and performances in the daily 'choreography' of our social lives. In the words of Gatens, gender "is constructed by discourses and practices that take the body both as their target and as their vehicle of expression" (1992, 299).

Lindemann (1997) has also argued from a similar perspective and does not accept that bodies are born with a gender on the basis of a universal sex; rather the body is moulded to fit gender categories which are shaped and constructed by the social context. Lindemann adds that the way gender is internalised is through the perception of others and through the realisation of others' gender identities. MacRae (1975) also accepts that the body performs social identities through lived experiences and argues that is, in turn, used as a social metaphor and analogy in the way we theorise our social cosmology and in our daily lives. At this point it is necessary to remind ourselves of Bourdieu's (1970) Berber house and Moore's (1986) study of the Marakwet of Kenya which clearly demonstrate how the understanding of the body shapes and orders the use and construction of domestic and settlement space by giving it a symbolic dimension.

Finally, the human body also has a more openly active role in the way it can generate social meaning. Moore (1994) has suggested that the body assumes a dynamic part in social processes through daily interaction and the activities of social actors, in accordance with Bourdieu's ideas on the generation of symbolic meanings in a social space (1994, 320). The body can also prove a powerful medium of resistance in the way it interacts in the course of daily activities and deliberate actions by interpreting and re-interpreting dominant discourses in a symbolically loaded space (Moore 1994, 325).

V e. GENDER AND THE BODY IN ARCHAEOLOGY

The way the theorisation of the body in other disciplines has influenced interpretations in the field of archaeology becomes evident from the following discussion. Theories on embodiment have primarily been employed in the field of gender archaeology with an aim to include the body and its treatment in our understanding of gender roles.

One aspect that has concerned archaeologists is how the body through the manipulation of its appearance enacts the gender it has been ascribed with, communicates and perpetuates its position in society. The employment of material culture plays a central role in this shaping and communicative process which has significant implications for archaeology. One such study has been conducted by Treherne (1995) who concentrated on the advent of warrior aristocracy in Bronze Age Europe and how the new class experienced their social status through the use of a new class of objects that were used to beautify and decorate the body (textiles, tweezers, razors, combs, mirrors and tattooing instruments), mark their warrior status (weapons or wheeled vehicles) and enhance their life-style (including serving vessels for the consumption of alcohol). Their bodies were central in the experience and performance of their status through the employment of the material culture mentioned above. Treherne argued, therefore, that the body does not act as a social metaphor in prehistoric societies; instead, the body in association with material culture actively performed and experienced its social identity at a physical level through a lived sense of the self. Treherne does not accept the clinical dichotomy between mind and body because the body should be studied as a medium through which individuals learned their world and

placed themselves in their social context through a constant process of physical experience and performance in a didactic tradition.

In a similar vein, Sørensen (1997) also concentrated on the body and dress in the Danish Bronze Age. Her arguments are based on the idea that appearance, as constructed through dress and other fittings, communicates social status and gender identity which, being highly visible and expressive, marks identity even before any real contact with other members of that cultural system. Dress and general appearance are so powerful and communicative that they can naturalise one's social position and behaviour, or create illusions regarding social status. What communicated and reflected social status, therefore, were not just the objects themselves, but the association of attire to real bodies wearing them. Finally, Sørensen also referred to gender and how the type of dress and ornamentation worn by men and women (permanent in the form of tattoos or scarring, pieces of clothing such as buttons or pins sewn onto the fabric, or removable, such as belt ornaments or swords) indicated the extent to which gender identities were fixed and rigid or more flexible. Gender is constructed and manipulated on the level of appearance as that is expressed through one's body. The body 'wears' the gender status and social position and that enables the individual to realise him/herself in accordance with other social members and to place him/herself in the socially accepted category by living and performing his/her given gender and wider social identity.

In a Meso-American case study, Joyce (2002) has combined different sets of data, figurines and material culture related to beautification from burials, in order to explore how gender was performed among the living, but also how it was denoted through representative media. Joyce found that in both spheres there was a corresponding categorisation with the body being beautified and accentuated in relation to anatomical sex and age, with a particular focus on the stage of mating between men and women and reproduction. In this case, Joyce has provided us with a methodologically valuable model of associating sets of data which demonstrated how the body (lived and represented) and its manipulation was central in the performance of gender roles and how, in turn, they were instrumental in the way their community operated. Similarly, Turner (1995), studying the body from an anthropological point of view, emphasised the way it acts as the surface upon which social identity can be written and performed. The modification of its appearance, as well as the employment and

circulation of valuable material symbols related to it (such as jewellery, clothes) serve to mark social status and communicate social identity in small scale societies. In the case of the Kayapo, an Indian tribe living in the Rain Forest of Brazil, Turner found that social identity was based on concrete and lived bodily experiences and the combination of the social body and the embodied subject are active in the processes of social organisation, but also take the form of that organisation. "The embodied subject thus plays a dual role in productive activity: both as producer and product, agent and object" (Turner 1995, 166).

On a community level, the physical body can serve a stabilising and preserving role in society. Rainbird (2002) in his study of tattooing and Pohnpei petroglyphs of Oceania has shown how tattooed bodies preserved community lineage, ancestry and important events on the bodies of its members. Bodies, therefore, were living testimonies of the history of their community. In a metaphorical way, rocks were also engraved with similar symbols, 'embodying' thus the 'truth' of the importance of the place. The body, therefore, cuts across many social layers of meaning and can also be employed for the preservation of information, the communication of ethnicity and other identities and the assertion of land rites. The implications from this case study are that the decorative motifs on anthropomorphic figurines can also be interpreted as emblems which served as mnemonic and didactic devices in their cultural context.

A complementary viewpoint considers society and, hence the category of gender, as an agent that shapes and moulds the physical body which, in turn, reflects and performs the expectations and idealised images that are imposed by culture. One such study by Izzet (1998) has demonstrated how the body may be moulded to reflect the way gender should be expressed. The case study refers to mirrors and gender identity in Etruria between 530 BC and 470 BC. Izzet has argued that mirrors with their engraved images were tools used by men and women to construct a corresponding ideal image which appeared as natural and objective. While women's engraved images reflected their passive role to appear beautiful to men, men's representations expressed their dedication to athleticism, warfare and exercise taking place in the public sphere. Again we see the body as being a surface upon which society visibly carves gender identities as a way of naturalising them, but the body is also active in the sense that it experiences and lives the behaviour and status that is attached to it. Such depictions of the body and ideal images of how it should appear and behave

perpetuate gender roles and create an ideal image against which gendered people measure themselves.

The discussion in sections *V d* and *V e*, therefore, have demonstrated how gender is tightly connected with the body, but not in the way that sex has been seen in relation to gender. The body is the outer, highly visible surface upon which society constructs gender identities and roles. They appear neutral and objective, an ideal image that social members aspire to, if they wish to become socially accepted. On the other hand, the body is not simply an expression of social order; it is also active because it is through the body that individuals can carry out their daily activities (which may or may not bear a symbolic meaning). Moreover, through the body individuals can mould and manipulate their appearance in order to achieve the socially expected identity. The body and its appearance is what enables individuals to gain a sense of themselves which is lived, performed and experienced physically. This physical dimension of gender means that it is deeply prescribed in the sphere of social collective memory through the appearance and behaviour of one's self and in relation to others. It is crucial, therefore, to consider the body in gender archaeology and the relevance it carries for the construction and internalisation of gender identities. Though a number of theories mentioned above have placed emphasis on the embodied construction of gender and offer critical views on the part played by society in the process of gender construction, I am reluctant to dismiss the role that aspects of reproduction (actual or symbolically internalised) would have also played in the same process. In archaeology the combination of additional aspects, such as patterns related to corporeality (labour-related strains), symbolism (attire, jewellery, implements of body modification, symbolic representations on various media, in addition to), as well as their associations and distribution in space (of the living and the dead), can offer a more rounded understanding of gender categories.

In the case of anthropomorphic figurines as they are studied in the framework of gender archaeology, the idea of embodiment bears relevance to the issue of their manufacture by gendered actors and how the internalisation of gender by the producer affected, reflected, but, more importantly, challenged socially accepted gender identity and behaviour. At the level of the user, who may or may not be the same as the producer, the idea of embodiment touches on the issue of 'educating' the wider social audience about the culturally accepted

gender identity, although attempts to overturn such socially embedded models may have also been possible. These represented human bodies are carriers of cultural information to us, as archaeologists, but the naturalised images of gendered bodies they represented are also important to study for the effect they may have had on social actors.

VI. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

After establishing my theoretical approach, I now present the specific questions that I will be addressing.

As I have already mentioned in *Chapter 1*, the central focus and aim of my dissertation is to provide understandings regarding the ways in which gender was constructed, enacted and negotiated at a symbolic and empirical level in the societies of the Neolithic and EBA Aegean through the analysis of anthropomorphic figurines. In the light of my findings, my objective is to critically review earlier interpretations concerning the social organisation of the early prehistoric Aegean, and to discuss the resulting implications regarding the understanding of the Neolithic and EBA societies. The study of the main theme of my research consists of a number of explicit research questions, a detailed list of which is presented below:

1. How was gender categorised and conceptualised in Neolithic and EBA Aegean society on the basis of figurine representations?

2. What conclusions can we draw regarding the role and status of gender categories in the early prehistoric Aegean?

3. How were figurines and other symbols employed in the process of constructing and negotiating gender in the Neolithic and EBA Aegean and how can we review earlier suggestions regarding the meaning of anthropomorphic figurines?

4. What are the implications concerning the dynamics between men and women and how were these negotiated in daily life and through symbolic material culture?

5. What conclusions can we draw from the study of figurines concerning gender and social organisation in the transition from the Neolithic to EBA society in the Aegean?

6. How can we review earlier interpretations regarding gender biases, and how is gender archaeology offering a new avenue for the understanding of early prehistoric Aegean

society?

In brief, the research questions above indicate among other things that the contribution of my research to Aegean archaeology is the application of a gender approach to a set of data which previously has been studied typologically and/or in terms of manufacture and use. The choice to study gender through figurines was an obvious one since figurines constitute a big corpus of evidence in the Neolithic and EBA of the Aegean, while representation of the human form is of fundamental importance for our understanding of gender categories. A gender approach to anthropomorphic figurines, however, is new in the field of early Aegean prehistory. My study will also add a new dimension to our understanding of early Aegean prehistory. Moreover, the study of gender in the cultural context of two distinct phases opens a new window for the explanation of society in the Neolithic and EBA Aegean.

Chapter 4

A METHODOLOGY FOR GENDER ARCHAEOLOGY THROUGH ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINES

In this chapter I present my methodological strategies. The chapter starts with a discussion of the more general aspects related to chronology, context and formal attributes (i.e. height, material...) and progresses onto the symbolic qualities of figurines (i.e. decoration, posture). Reference to research questions, therefore, at the beginning of each section in parentheses do not follow the numerical order in which they appear in *Chapter 3*: Part *VI*. Research questions are mentioned when they become relevant for the discussion of each section of this chapter.

I. DATA: CRITERIA FOR SELECTION AND RECORDING STRATEGY

In both sets of data (Neolithic and EBA), the recorded figurines come from published sources, such as books, catalogues, articles, excavations reports, pamphlets, and internet sites. I have not included, however, figurines for which no sketch or photograph was provided, since a large part of my analysis is based on personal visual estimation of the representative features of the figurines. Because I do not wish to rely on the author's assumption of what anatomical features the figurines represented (which I have concluded is often highly subjective), I have excluded those that I could not evaluate for myself. When possible, I also visited museum exhibitions where the published material was exhibited. Another criterion that operated in my selection process aimed at ensuring that my data does not include forged pieces, which emerged as a result of the art market demand for such highly valued objects. In the case of Neolithic figurines such risk is minimal, in contrast to those dating to the EBA period, especially those of Cycladic origin. For that reason, in the case of Cycladic and Cycladic-type figurines I have chosen to record only those that were recovered from actual excavations (unearthed or on the surface). When they were reported as casual finds, however, I have limited my

sample only to those that were found up to and including year 1900 and no later, as a way of safely ensuring that my sample is not contaminated by forged pieces that were particularly common in the period of the 1960s (Chippindale & Gill 1995, 132).

The figurines have been recorded in electronic databases using the Access program and have been divided into Neolithic and EBA sections. Each figurine has been given a unique number which ensures that it is easily identified (marked in all sub-tables as 'index'). Both databases are further divided into four relational sub-tables where I have grouped their relevant information under *Main Catalogue*, *Attributes*, *Context* and *Site/Date* (for examples see Appendix B, Fig. 1-4 for the list of defined fields). Moreover, an added database (*Decoration*, see *Appendix B*, Fig. 5 for a full list of fields) was developed in order to record in detail the motifs of those figurines that were decorated, common for Neolithic and EBA figurines (for further details on employed categorisation methods see also IV b, IV c, IV d). They were again identified with the same number they were marked with in the main database, but were further recorded on the grounds of the represented motifs. I need to explain here that one figurine may be decorated with more than one motif and for this reason I needed to deconstruct the decorative synthesis into meaningful segments. One figurine, therefore, may have been assigned more than one motif code. Each motif was separately identified, sketched and was then given a unique code which made possible a systematic analysis of motifs appearing on figurines across space, time and represented sex. Added information included the part of the body that the motif marked, as well as any use of pigment and the method with which it was denoted. Those figurines that bore traces of slip or other surface paint, were also recorded for the choice of colour and the parts of the body emphasised. Finally, a catalogue of the scanned illustrations of the figurines identified with their unique number, as well as the scanned sketched motifs with their unique code has also been compiled for easy visual access to the data, which has proved particularly useful in the course of the analysis.

II. PLACING FIGURINES IN THEIR ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT: RECORDING AND ANALYTICAL METHODS

(Research questions 3 and 4)

My research aims to answer questions regarding gender and social organisation in general, but this should by no means distract me from grounding my analysis and interpretation in sound epistemological foundations. In our search for answers to our questions, irrespective of how theoretical they are, we always need to place the data in their archaeological, and hence, cultural context. It is for this reason that I developed the sub-tables of *Site/Date* and *Context*. In the case of the first *Site/Date* table (see *Appendix B*, Fig. 3) I have included the following fields which have been filled in with the use of highly systematised categories:

- **Site**: the name of the site where the figurine was recovered (when figurines are "said to" have been found, then the name of the site is marked with quotation-marks)
- **Area**: the broader geographical area of the Aegean, following the municipality system which operates today in the state of Greece. Again, when figurines are "said to" have been found in an area, I use quotation marks.
- **Date-broad**: the broader periods (Early, Middle, Late, Final, Final/Early Bronze Age for Neolithic; EB I, II, III for the EBA) I have employed for reasons of convenience and for a more meaningful grouping and analysis of the evidence.
- **Date-context**: the actual date that has been given by the excavator to the stratigraphic layer from which the figurine was recovered.
- **Date-typology**: the date which is suggested by the general typology that has been developed for the study of Aegean Neolithic and EBA figurines. This has been used to suggest a possible date in the case of surface or casual finds when a statigraphic date cannot be attained.
- **Site type**: describes the type of recovery site, i.e. open-settlement site (OS), burial site (BS, BS?), or cave site (CS) (with a settlement or funerary use).
- **Context**: refers to the recovery context (when applicable), such as habitational stratum, house, pit, hearth...
- **Stratigraphy**: the actual stratigraphical context of recovery as indicated in the publication.

In the case of the *Context* table, I have designed the fields in such a way that they focus

on the micro-scale of figurines' archaeological associations. In brief, the categories I have included are (for a full list of fields see app.B, Fig. 4):

- **Associated finds**: further sub-divided with the use of grouped artefact categories (see *Appendix B*, Fig. 4). They have been divided between directly (*in-situ*) and more loosely (*by phase*) associated finds, the latter serving only as a general contextual indicator.
- **Associated features**: further sub-divided with the use of general categories of features (see *Appendix B*, Fig. 4). As in the case of finds, features have also been sub-divided between those of direct and loose association.

The above fields, therefore, were selected with the aim of recording all the relevant information that place figurines, on a first level, in their archaeological context. The analysis of such information further provides me with the ability to detect patterns between figurines and other types of material culture, as well as discern the special distribution and occasions on which figurines may have been used. The distributive models of figurines and their associations with other artefacts and symbols, therefore, can have significant implications for the use of figurines and the arena in which gender symbolisms operated. Finally, information regarding the geographical area that the figurines were recovered from, the type of site, as well as their date, will allow me to compare different traditions throughout the Aegean in terms of gender representation and implied social organisation. Of equal importance is how we can detect differences between gender roles and gender construction from the Neolithic to the EBA Aegean society.

III. FIGURINES AND THEIR FORMAL ATTRIBUTES: RECORDING, ANALYSIS AND IMPLICATIONS

(Research questions 1 and 2)

Moving now to the more direct study of the actual objects, I will first discuss their formal attributes, the decision behind their selection and their method of recording. All the relevant fields are included in the table *Main Catalogue* which serves as an initial introduction to the basic features of a figurine. Among other fields (see *Appendix B*, Fig. 1), those that I will discuss here are as follows:

- **Height**: maximum preserved height.
- **Width**: maximum preserved width.
- **Material**: the type of material used (clay, stone, bone, etc).

From the table *Attributes* the following field is also useful for the reading of preliminary information:

- **Decoration**: presence or absence of decoration (which may further refer me to the table *Decoration*).

The recording of features, such as the dimensions of a figurine, in association with the represented sex, has relevance for the understanding of how gender was conceptualised and the symbolic ideas surrounding it. How visible, permanent or portable figurines were (in relation to their dimensions) are aspects that can elucidate even further how gender was communicated in society. As for the choice of material used, the degree of difficulty involved in its extraction and processing are indications of the value that was attached to the object itself and by extension the represented subject. Further implications concern the identity of those involved in the manufacture of figurines and hence who was also responsible for the communication of their gender-related ideas. Finally, the issue of decoration at a first level is an indication of the care and effort that was invested in a figurine (and hence value associated with the represented gender), while at the same time it may be suggestive of gender construction, as well as its communicative potential through the demarcation of its surface.

IV. FIGURINES AND A GENDER METHODOLOGY

(Research questions 1, 2 and 5)

The next stage of the analysis leads to a more complex level of interpretation which is that of symbolism and ideas regarding gender. This analytical quest moves at two levels: that of the critical awareness of the researcher and his/her methodological tools, and that of the active symbolisms in a prehistoric cultural context. For a better explanation of my methodological choices, I will enlist the analytical categories according to technical attributes and the thematic subjects.

IV a. Anatomical attributes

The initial stage of analysis is to establish the categories that are being represented on the basis of the anatomical attributes demarcated on the figurines, since biology-related aspects tend (not always) to play a strong categorising role in societies (see *Chapter 3*: *V c*, *V d*). I have aimed to identify the represented sex on the grounds of prominent anatomical characteristics, such as genitalia, the absence or presence of breasts (not always a definite indication of sex), as well as secondary features, such as swollen abdomen (occasionally an indication of pregnancy), accentuated hips and/or buttocks which can be suggestive of the female body. These categories are included in the table *Attributes* (see *Appendix B*, Fig. 2) and the selected fields intended to determine the visual and technical conventions by which prehistoric people categorised themselves on the basis of their anatomy. After establishing whether a figurine lacked anatomical attributes or was represented as dressed (*naked/dressed*), in order to avoid misidentification of demarcated 'sex' categories, I then proceed with the analysis and recording of individual anatomical features. On a first level, this analytical approach allows me to narrow down the way in which the human body was represented anatomically, with an insight into the parameters of age, maturity and reproductive stage. It is on these grounds, therefore, that I then assign a 'sex' label to each figurine (*sex 2*), occasionally different from that originally assigned by the excavator or the author (*sex 1*) (see *Appendix B*, Fig. 1). It is important to note that I have devised these categories as shorthand conventions that allow us to identify recognisable categories, and are not intended to imply an *a priori* projection of modern concepts of sex and

gender regarding prehistoric societies. These categories are as follows:

Female (F): clear presence of female genitalia and/or breasts and possible secondary female attributes (accentuated hips and/or accentuated buttocks and/or pregnant abdomens) (see *Appendix C*, Fig. 1).

Probably Female (PF): when female genitalia and/or breasts *seem* to be suggested, but unclear modelling or partial damage due to weathering, I cannot assign the figurine as definitely *Female*. Also, figurines with secondary indicators (pregnant abdomens, accentuated hips and buttocks, or posture repertoire) suggesting female modelling, despite the lack of primary features (breasts and female genitalia) have also been termed as PF (see *Appendix C*, Fig. 2).

Female form (Ff): absence of female genitalia and/or breasts, but clear presence of secondary attributes (accentuated hips and occasionally accentuated buttocks) (see *Appendix C*, Fig. 3).

Probably Female form (Pff): the same criteria as for *Female form*, but when only the upper or lower part of the figurine survives, I cannot be certain whether the missing part was clearly marked as female or not (presence of breasts or female genitalia) (see *Appendix C*, Fig. 4).

Male (M): clear presence of male genitalia and, according to the general Aegean convention, absence of breasts (see *Appendix C*, Fig. 5).

Probably Male (PM): when male genitalia seem to be suggested, but unclear modelling or partial damage due to weathering, I cannot assign the figurine as definitely *Male*. Occasionally the modelling of the body and its posture are also suggestive of male bodies (see *Appendix C*, Fig. 6).

Asexual (A): definite absence of male or female genitalia and breasts, and secondary female attributes (accentuated hips and/or accentuated buttocks) (see *Appendix C*, Fig. 7).

Probably Asexual (PA): the same criteria as for *Asexual*, but when only the upper or lower part of the figurine survives, I cannot be certain whether the missing part was clearly modelled as asexual or not (see *Appendix C*, Fig. 8).

Ambiguous (Amb): ambiguous and 'dual' modelling of genitalia (male and female), or presence of prominent breasts or represented pregnancy and male genitalia on the same figurine (see *Appendix C*, Fig. 9).

Non-applicable (na): a category assigned to those figurine fragments that I have recorded for their decoration or unusual features or for their exceptional context, but which cannot be labelled according to the above categories due to bad preservation.

On the level of interpretation, the creation of the above labelling schema, as well as the observations on the symbolic and embodied aspects of figurines (discussed in the following sections) have implications regarding how the anatomical body may have been associated with gender categories (as we will see later on, not always a one-to-one correlation) (see *Chapter 3*: *V d*). Though anthropological evidence cross-culturally has suggested that in the majority of cases gender is closely associated with biological sex (possibly due to the underlying role played by reproduction and the pressure of social duty) (Herdt 1994, 80), I have nevertheless been careful in the reading of the recognised labelling schema as reflecting gender. The combination of the represented sex with its degree of variation, as well as aspects of represented embodiment (decoration and posture, see *IV b-f*) provide the basis on which I have been able to recognise gender categories. Finally, the way the anatomical body was modelled may have relevance for other aspects, such as dietary or labour-related habits, in the sense that human bodies were presumably modelled according to either self-projecting body image or the culturally accepted "ideal" body shape. It is also possible, however, that the intentional manipulation of images of the represented body and how that may have been proposed as the "ideal" archetype may have played a part in the moulding of figurines.

IV b. Decorative motifs: meaning and symbolism

Through careful recording and analysis of the motifs, I have been able to deconstruct the symbolism and meaning behind these motifs, relate it to the assigned 'sex' categories, as well as compare and contrast aspects of gender across time and space, as suggested through decoration. Combining the symbolic aspects to the represented sex serves to enhance my understanding of gender and to protect my conclusions from modern correlations between sex and gender (see *Chapter 3*: *V c*, *V d*).

For the analysis of decoration, I will explain how I recorded the information in the table *Decoration* (see *Appendix B*, Fig. 5), the same for both Neolithic and EBA figurines. The decoration on each figurine was broken down into the thematic complexes (segments) that comprise the whole synthesis. For instance, the motifs on the same figurine denoting a necklace was recorded separately and assigned a different code from that marking a band/belt worn around the waist and so on. Each of these motifs was given a unique code by using an abbreviated description in letters (e.g. ***vpl*** = vertical

parallel lines), followed by an Arabic number which differentiated one motif from the next (e.g. *vpl***1**, *vpl***2**...) and then (when necessary) by Latin numerals to denote the variations on the same theme (e.g. *vpl2***i**, *vpl2***ii**...). Each of these recognised motifs was sketched separately and scanned, compiling thus a visual catalogue of the decorative repertoire of both Neolithic and EBA decorative motifs (see Appendix D for a summary view).

After establishing the similarities and differences between motifs, I then systematised my analysis further by recording the anatomical part on which a motif was marked (e.g. neck:front, abdomen, back:upper...). This added information allowed me to differentiate between random motifs (such as those representing tattoos or body painting) appearing on different parts of the body, and those denoting attire, which were always modelled on the same anatomical parts. In fact, taking into account the assigned code of the motifs, as well as the body part on which they occurred, I was then able to compile four lists (see *app. E, Fig. 59* and *app. G, Fig. 62*) according to which I distinguished between decoration representing *Body Decoration* (tattoo, body painting, scarring), *Clothing*, *Body Decoration or Clothing* (when both interpretations are equally feasible) and *Jewellery*. Because decoration was an intentional act of the producer of the figurine it deserves a comprehensive approach in order to deconstruct on one hand the representative synthesis, and to interpret its symbolism and meaning on the other. The additional information regarding the method in which the motif was marked (*incised, painted, incised and painted...*) has relevance for the understanding of what the motif was intended to denote (for instance, body scarring was probably marked with incisions or 'pinched' motifs) and also has implications regarding a more abstract way in which the identity of the represented figurine may have required a different technical treatment in its manufacture.

It has become clear, I hope, that the systematic analysis of the decoration on figurines is an extremely useful avenue for the understanding the figurines' symbolic dimension, which is usually the richest layer of meaning. It can reveal a number of significant facets related to figurines on one level and social organisation on the other. The association between the symbolism of the applied motif and the 'sex' category of the figurines allows me to explore cases of symbolic overlap or difference between figurines of the same 'sex' category which has implications for the identification of gender categories in early prehistoric Aegean beyond the constraints of sex-gender

dichotomies. Moreover, the way the body was adorned, covered or exposed has important implications for the understanding of gender embodiment and status as revealed through figurines. Furthermore, the systematic analysis of decoration for both Neolithic and EBA figurines, will allow me to detect changes in the way gender was constructed and communicated across space in the same period and across time. That will then reveal how the socio-economic transition may have affected gender and how in that light we can reconsider social organisation.

IV c. Plastic attributes: coiffure, headdress as social markers

Closely associated with the subject of attire, modification of the body, gender and personal identity in general, is also the modelling of headdress or coiffure. The way in which these applied attributes have been recorded followed the same strategy as for all other decorative motifs and have been included in the *Decoration* table. I have paid special attention to these features due to their proven association with personal identity, status and gender. In the case of headdresses, ethnographic studies have established that, apart from communicating the ethnic and group affiliation of those belonging to the same cultural community (Pilali-Papasteriou 1989, 100), they have also been linked to the communication of rank through appearance (Wason 1994, 105). Headdresses, however, should also be considered as markers of gender, an attribute which, through the modification of personal appearance, denoted common identity and differentiation from other gender groups. If we now link the parameter of gender with that of social status and ethnic identity, we can begin to draw some conclusions on how gender was bestowed with the continuity of cultural tradition, as well as the emblematic communication of social status. Similar arguments can also be put forward for the study of coiffure styles and how they were linked to the process of gender, social and ethnic identity construction. Finally, the systematic recording of such attributes allows me to compare how different genders were constructed on the basis of the modification of their personal appearance, but also how through the analysis of such Neolithic and EBA patterns we may be able to detect cultural changes regarding the role and status of gender, as well as cultural affiliations between communities in different parts of the Aegean.

IV d. Use of colour and symbolism

The application of colour also played a strongly communicative role. For the recording of such information, I have included two fields for colour in the *Decoration* table (see *Appendix B*, Fig. 5), one referring to the colour used on or for the actual motif, and the other corresponding to the colour applied to the whole surface of the figurine as paint or slip. This distinction enables me to also explore the combination between colours, such as a red motif on a white surface and the possible symbolism behind them. It is also very important to link the colour with the body part on which it occurs as that has significant implications for gender and its embodiment through ideology. Moreover, the same strategy of recording and identification has been applied to Neolithic and EBA figurines in accordance with my decision to systematise and unify their study.

The study of colour requires separate and careful treatment, since its symbolism operates in a parallel and distinct fashion to that of motifs, adding thus another layer of meaning. Colour and the way it is incorporated in body decoration and attire plays a communicative role at the level of expressing social identity (Turner 1995, 146), as well as cultural identity (David *et al* 1988, 378; Hodder 1982). It also serves to preserve and 'write' lineage history on the body (Rainbird 2002, 237), but also mark the stages of maturity in ceremonial occasions (Joyce 2002, 15-25). At a more abstract level, ethnography has indicated that certain colours are systematically related to specific substances, materials and symbolic notions (Chapman 2002; Walisewska 1991) and often reflect the way people categorise themselves and the world around them (Chapman 2002, 52-53). Turning back to the subject of gender, the association between colour and the represented sex, as well as between colour and the meaning of motifs can reveal aspects related to the way gender was conceptualised symbolically and how it was categorised in relation to other gender categories. Moreover, the application of colour with the intention of portraying body decoration and the parts that were chosen to be emphasised (e.g. breasts or the pregnant abdomen on women) can be suggestive of ways in which gender was constructed and 'written' on the surface of the body. Also, the application of the same recording and analytical method on both sets of data allows me to detect patterns of continuity or change from the Neolithic to the EBA period regarding gender construction, role and symbolism.

IV e. The modelled physical body: a typology

A typological schema, specifically designed for the purposes of gender archaeology, has been developed for the study of anthropomorphic Neolithic and EBA figurines. Unlike the typologies that are already in use for both Neolithic (Orphanidi 1998; Talalay 1983) and EBA Aegean figurines (Fitton 1989; Renfrew 1969, 1991; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1983) which mainly serve to trace the 'evolution' of figurines as artefacts, I was in need of a categorising tool that would allow me to detect patterns in the modelling of the human body as represented in the form of figurines. Because the physical body, and its modelling, plays a central role in the enactment of gender roles and behaviour, a body-based typology serves to trace cultural 'ideals' behind the modelling and subsequent communication of gendered images in the shape of figurines. Moreover, the application of the same typological principles for both sets of data, will allow me to compare the two traditions and detect changes that may be indicative of a general shift in the attitude regarding gender 'ideals' and gender behaviour in general.

A brief introduction is necessary in order to explain how the typological schema operates (see *Appendix B*, Fig. 1). The first stage is to establish the general type of body represented by the figurine. When the figurine body has been modelled in an abstract, summary human form, with no other indications regarding its proportions, I have termed those as **amorphous** and **schematic** (less abstract than the amorphous type). When the bodies, however, are more articulated, I have categorised them on the basis of their proportions under **proportionate** (slender), **corpulent** and **steatopygous**. In cases, however, when the body is sufficiently modelled to allow a categorisation on the basis of its represented proportions (i.e. proportionate, corpulent, steatopygous), but the technical effect has rendered the body in a schematic form, I then further identify them as **schematic** (e.g. '**corpulent, schematic**'). The same applies for those figurines with a clear body typology, but that also fall under the category of **zoomorphic** describing a hybrid category of human and animal features (e.g. '**proportionate, zoomorphic**'). As additional information, I have also employed certain categories taken from the conventional typological schemata which can aid the reader to readily recall their body form, as in the case of Saliagos and 'violin' types (see Renfrew 1969). Finally, another (optional) feature I have added regards the technical aspect of figurine modelling and its suggested use and that applies to figurines with perforations, termed as 'amulets'. When the state of preservation of the figurines does not allow me to securely categorise the

figurines according to their body modelling, I distinguish them with a question-mark (e.g. **corpulent?**). In some cases, however, the surviving fragments of the figurines are so small that is not possible for me to categorise them even with a degree of caution and that is why they are marked as **non-applicable (na)**.

IV f. Posture: embodiment and gender

How the body and embodied behaviour plays a central role in the internalisation and enactment of gender has already been discussed in the previous chapter (see *Chapter 3*: *V d*) and justifies my decision to isolate posture for the purposes of analysis and interpretation. In addition, the correlation of the modelled posture with the represented sex serves to explore and test gender construction by moving independently from sex-related dichotomies. I have approached the analysis of gender embodiment by including a field in one of the tables (see *Appendix B*, Fig. 1) where the posture of the figurines was recorded in the following order: whether it was represented as standing, seated, seated on a stool and so on, by paying attention to the position of the arms and hands (e.g. extended, resting on the breasts...) and finally the legs (e.g. spread, flexed...). Other aspects I have also included refer to the representative theme in which the figurines may have been modelled, such as "kourotrophos" (modelled with one or more children) or "musician" (modelled with a musical instrument).

The analysis can offer useful insights into the way actual human bodies moved in their environment and how they were involved in the daily 'choreography' of life. Posture becomes meaningful for my research by linking it to the represented sex of the figurines and its ultimate association with gender categories. This correlation can then provide me with models according to which gender was conceptualised and internalised by social actors. Other useful aspects of this analysis include that of the role of gender as suggested by the accepted repertoire in which male or female bodies were modelled.

V. OTHER CATEGORIES OF EVIDENCE: A RELATIONAL ANALYSIS OF GENDER SYMBOLISM

(Research question 2, 3, 4 and 5)

Figurines constitute the focus of my research, the avenue through which I have chosen to reach and interpret gender in the societies of the Neolithic and EBA Aegean. When we select one category of data, however, we run the risk of isolating it from its wider cultural and symbolic context. Especially, in the case of gender, a factor which in omnipresent in all facets of social life, I would not be able to propose a holistic interpretation, if I do not also include other types of data which can act as a check against which I can test the hypotheses resulting from figurine analysis. In addition, the consideration of other, related evidence, also allows me to explore to what extent the representation of gender in the form of models is reflective or challenging.

V a. Contextual relation

Why and how I have chosen to take into consideration the finds and features which were contextually associated with the recorded figurines has already been explained in Part *II*. One aspect, however, which was not discussed in detail, is the case of EBA figurines which were deposited as grave goods inside burials containing other artefacts in association with figurines. In the framework of gender archaeology, I need to explore whether certain categories of material in association with the available sexed skeletons, can reveal further correlations between the gender of prehistoric people and the gender symbolism as expressed through figurines. Moreover, recognising the deposited grave goods as gender-related material culture, I can elucidate aspects relating to gender construction in general through either the manipulation of the physical body (in the case of material culture related to attire and body modification), or the employment of gender-associated material repertoire as emblems of social identity.

V b. Gender representation and symbolism in other media

Apart from the category of figurines, gender symbolism can also be found in the form

of other media which can offer a complementary view to that indicated by figurines. For that reason, I have included in an independent database (see *Appendix B*, Fig. 6) the scanned illustration and the description of the object, as well as fields related to chronology, context and material. Some of these categories of material include anthropomorphic vessels, miniature models, anthropomorphic representations on other media, phallic objects, or anthropomorphic menhirs. By applying the same identification criteria for their represented sex (when applicable) or 'sex' symbolism, I can then compare their represented theme to the gender symbolism as expressed through figurines. Such cross-examination of evidence that is related to gender can further elucidate how gender was symbolised and communicated in society.

V c. Gender-related material culture

The third category of data which I include in the relational analysis between figurines and other types of evidence is that of gender-related personal material culture. This takes the form of artefacts, such as jewellery, attire-associated accessories, including weaponry (e.g. baldric, dagger or sheath), and objects used in the process of body modification and appearance as emblematic means. Ethnographic analogies, as well as the association between some of these objects and sexed skeletons, can provide further indications of how gender was constructed and enacted through the employment of personal material culture. Such evidence can then be compared with the indications provided through the aspects of decoration and its representative meaning (attire, body decoration, jewellery), as well as the posture of the figurines. It provides me again with an added dimension against which I can detect patterns of changes in the way gender was internalised and performed in the periods of the Neolithic and the EBA in the Aegean.

VI. MANUFACTURE AND USE: HYPOTHESIS AND ANALOGY

(Research question 3 and 4)

Exploring who may have been responsible for the manufacture of figurines and what were the occasions that called for their use, I can start to draw conclusions about the way in which they were employed in the process of constructing and negotiating gender in a quotidian context. Other aspects that will be revealed include the intention behind the manufacture of figurines and how gender dynamics were being played out through the manipulation of symbolic material culture. The subject of the manufacture of their figurines, however, and their attribution to one or the other gender is admittedly a difficult one to address and requires careful theorisation.

The manufacture of figurines falls into the realm of technology and gender attribution. Gender archaeology, however, seems to be divided between those who believe that we cannot and should not be concerned with gender attribution, and others who believe that it is essential for archaeologists to attempt to answer such questions. Bailey (1994a) belongs to the first school of thought and has argued that we cannot be preoccupied with attributing labour tasks to gender because gender is not limited to technology, but is instead an identity which is formed through the process of social interaction and formation of meaningful relationships. One of the most dedicated supporters of gender attribution in the study of craft production is Costin (1996) who has argued that it is essential that we answer questions about gender and labour division because the organisation of labour also affects the organisation of gender roles in other social and economic domains. In brief, the methods that Costin suggests for gender attribution include the use of cross-cultural analogy, mortuary context and figurative representations.

Dobres (1995), on the other hand, unlike Costin, does not believe that we need to make explicit hypotheses about gender and specific tasks in the process of craft production. Instead, she postulates that it would be more fruitful for archaeologists to interpret how the end-products and their manufacture fit in the wider socio-economic and cultural context, rather than closely link genders with specific tasks. The analysis suggested by Dobres would involve a microscale approach to production which should also address the issue of how gender was actively taking part in craft production. Dobres has

suggested that the analysis of patterns relating to the technical aspects of the end-products is suitable for the understanding of the social processes which structure production.

As far as my research is concerned, I believe that it is essential to address the question of how technology, in specific figurine manufacture, is related to gender, precisely because, as Dobres and Costin have argued, technology is not divorced from the dynamics of everyday social, political, economic and ideological processes. We cannot, therefore, ignore production, even though it is admittedly a difficult area of analysis. Behind the understanding of who manufactured figurines lies a series of implications which relate to who was using figurines, how and for what reason in association with gender relations and dynamics. I do not think, however, that using solely anthropological analogies we can answer the question about technology and gender because there is a weakness in claiming that there is an unquestionable link between technological evidence and ethnographic models, especially as many of the societies used as examples are very different from the ones under investigation. In addition, even though certain crafts are dominated by one gender that does not exclude the possibility that a variety of gender combinations were involved in different production steps. If we consider, therefore, that activities and their end-products are the result of a *chaîne operatoire*, we should then envisage that more than one gender may have been involved at different stages of production, and that is exactly where the interest lies in studying gender and technology, rather than making explicit (as Costin suggested) gender attribution statements. For that reason I am inclined to follow the suggestions by Dobres which stress the need to study technology in direct association with social processes which would in turn reveal to us how gender was part of it. Dobres, however, is not willing to attempt any suggestions concerning the manufacturers of these figurines.

Sørensen (1996), on the other hand, has made some useful suggestions on the subject of technology and gender attribution by considering women and metalworking in the European Bronze Age. Her concern is that we need to rise above our modern-day preconceptions about gender labour division and thus should not exclude men or women from occupations which in our society are dominated by one gender. Sørensen, therefore, resists the hypothesis that men were the metalworkers in the European Bronze Age. She explains that very often the weaknesses in analysing gender and technology lies in the way we structure and order our research aims: "women and/as metalworkers"

is preferable and more realistic than "women and metalworkers" because it avoids giving a negative answer and thus the exclusion of women from metalworking on the basis of lack of concrete evidence. By recognising both groups (women and metalworkers) and by rejecting the hypothesis of "women as metalworkers" due to the lack of supporting evidence, Sørensen is interested in the way women were influenced by metalworkers and how women's lives were affected by the various processes involved in the social and material aspects of metal-working. The detour suggested by Sørensen means that women are not left outside the sphere of technology and they can still remain part of our research questions.

The approach developed by Sørensen is valuable because it avoids the exclusion of women from the study of technology or of men out of what we term as traditionally female crafts, and, although it may result in the conclusion that women or men were not involved in certain processes, it is less destined to fail. A useful methodological device suggested by Sørensen is approaching gender and technology by testing a number of alternative models on the basis of artefactual evidence in order to explore what different scenarios are revealed as a result. More specifically on the issue of figurine manufacture, Sørensen's work can prove very useful for addressing the question of how gender was involved in and affected by it. By forming hypothetical alternative models for figurine manufacture it is possible that some of the suggestions could be more acceptable on the grounds of artefactual evidence than others. In addition, while ethnographic evidence suggests that women are mainly involved in figurine manufacture, following that approach, I will avoid excluding men or women from various stages of figurine production and its various production processes, and will instead concentrate on how their manufacture affected and influenced both genders socially and materially. I hope, therefore, that by following this route, even though I cannot draw concrete conclusions, my suggestions will be characterised by more flexibility and will in turn avoid criticism on the grounds of unfounded speculation.

Finally, the issue of use and the occasions under which figurines were being employed is also of relevance for the understanding of gender construction. The fact that figurines were modelled with a distinct typology in terms of the identity they wished to represent suggests that it was of relevance to the user or audience at the time and occurrence of their manipulation. A useful aspect to be considered initially is that of contextual evidence which can be suggestive of the occasions under which the use of figurines may

have occurred. The second avenue is that of ethnographic and anthropological models concerning the use of figurines which can aid us in formulating our hypothesis by analogy. It is true that a number of possibilities will be revealed, but that should not be considered problematic necessarily, since it is likely that figurines may have had more than one complementary uses and may have also been actively employed in a range of contexts.

The issue of the producers involved in figurine manufacture is more central in the study of anthropomorphic figurines than it is for the case of other artefacts. The fact that they represent the human form, as well as the possibility that they may also include the element of self-projection requires a careful consideration of the gender or genders involved behind their manufacture. If, as I argue later, Neolithic female figurines are the result of women's self projection, an element far less evident in the EBA period, our concern with the gender of the maker(s) may well elucidate the differences between men and women through the study of figurines in the periods of the Neolithic and EBA. The answers may not be definite and cannot be proven with any certainty, but the exploration of the various possibilities play a central part in the interpretation of gender symbolism and its social enactment in an early prehistoric Aegean context.

VII. ANALYSIS: METHODS AND VISUAL DISPLAY OF RESULTS

The presentation of results, as well as their graphical illustration are included in Appendices E and F. The data have been categorised and presented in table format and they include counts broken down by category, but also percentages when that has been considered necessary. The same strategy has been followed for the analysis of qualitative attributes of figurines (such as decorative motifs or posture) which I have chosen to contain in tables for a better visual understanding of the results, and in an attempt to quantify the least 'countable' aspects of figurines.

As mentioned above, I have employed charts to present the proportions of the various categories which have provided a clear illustration of the results and allowed the comparison between categories of the same sample, and additionally between categories of the Neolithic and EBA samples. The types of charts that I have used to present the data include bar charts (grouped, horizontal, and stacked) and pie charts.

The other stage of analysis refers to the use of chi-square (χ^2) tests, which have been applied selectively where it was considered necessary to test the reliability of the resulting patterns which were relevant to central arguments in my thesis. The types of chi-square tests I have used are of two types: (a) one-variable χ^2 or goodness-of-fit test, and (b) χ^2 test of independence: rxc, rx2. Chi-square serves to measure the relationship between two categorical variables (Dancey & Reidy, 2004, 255). In the case of the one-variable χ^2 tests, we can examine whether the frequencies we have obtained differ from the expected set of frequencies, that is whether they are significantly different from the frequency counts we would expect by chance (Dancey & Reidy 2004, 256,-257). The χ^2 test of independence (rxc, rx2), on the other hand, is used when we wish to explore whether there is an association between two variables (Dancey & Reidy 2004, 269).

Regarding the application of the test to my data, I wish to clarify that, though I would have wished to apply more χ^2 test of independence for the examination of associations between variables (especially in the case of sexed categories), the basic assumption that no more than 25% of cells should be included with an expected frequency of less than 5, has limited my options for a more detailed analysis. The alternative was to perform more one-variable χ^2 tests examining the whole figurine sample and not broken down into sex categories. Finally, I would also like to report the exact probability levels (*p*-

value or alpha criterion of significance) that I am using for the tests and which is 0.05, the value conventionally considered as the cut-off point (Dancey & Reidy 2004, 136).

Chapter 5

NEOLITHIC ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINES: PRESENTATION OF DATA AND ANALYSIS RESULTS

I. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE RECORDED SAMPLE

I a. Quantity of the recorded data

The quantity of the recorded data-set amounts to 1,094 anthropomorphic figurines from Neolithic Aegean sites. The corpus includes whole, but also fragmented parts of published figurines that, unless they constitute the same artefact, are given individual entry codes (see *Chapter 4*: *I*). Though my database is not an exhaustive catalogue of unearthed Neolithic figurines from the Aegean, I have aimed to include as much of the published material as possible, an estimated minimum of 95% of what is available.

I b. A break-down by 'sex' categories of the recorded sample (app. E: Fig. 1, Fig. 2)

Out of the whole recorded sample, I have been able to define a percentage of 73.55 on the basis of their represented sex category (see *Chapter 4*: *IV a*). Figure 1 shows that Female category represents the highest proportion, while Female-related figurines show an overall predominance, amounting to over 50% of the whole sample. The second highest percentage is held by Asexual and Probably Asexual figurines, with Male representations accounting for only 2% of the whole sample. Ambiguous figurines constitute the smallest proportion represented in the sample. The chi-square test that was performed (Fig. 2) confirms that all

sex categories were not equally preferred and that the modelling of Female figurines, followed by Asexual forms, was preferred over other types.

Conclusion: The results suggest that Neolithic people were particularly preoccupied with the portrayal and symbolism of women's bodies. We need to review, however, the assumption that the Neolithic Balkan, and more specifically Aegean, figurine record consists of exclusively female representations and the well-known implications resulting from such sweeping statements. The presence of a considerable proportion of Asexual models calls for a cautious approach and analysis of the corpus of Neolithic figurines. The complexity of the figurine record in terms of gender-related symbolism is further attested by the presence of few Ambiguous specimens indicating that a multi-level process of gender organisation and conceptualisation operated in Neolithic Aegean society.

I c. **Provenance of the total sample** (app. E: Fig. 3, 4, 5, 6)

The recorded corpus mainly comes from excavated sites, although my sample also includes some stray finds, the authenticity of which cannot be disputed on the basis of their typology or the conditions of recovery.

The areas represented by the recoded sample include the wider regions of the mainland and insular Aegean: Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, Central Mainland (Boeotia and Attica), the Peloponnese, the Sporades, Euboia, the Cyclades, Samos (Isles of the South Aegean), Karpathos (the Dodecanese) and Crete. In Fig. 3 a detailed breakdown is presented by area and island or island group. A point to note is that under the label "South" I have included those figurines which do not have a secure provenance, but their typology indicates a south mainland (Central Mainland or Peloponnese) or central insular (Euboia) origin. A detailed list of site names according to area is presented in Fig. 4. The relative proportions of figurines from different areas are shown in percentages in Fig. 5 and the results of the performed chi-square test are presented in Fig. 6.

Conclusion: The chi-square test shown in Fig. 6 confirms the pattern of differential production according to region presented in Fig. 5. Figurines, therefore, were not used at the same scale in all regions, and Macedonia, Thessaly and Crete emerge as the main areas of figurine production.

Though the sample may have been affected by the choice for excavation in areas where Neolithic sites are expected to be found (i.e. Macedonia and Thessaly), the performed test (Fig. 6) does indicate that more figurines were used in the regions of Macedonia, Thessaly and Crete. It is possible that the results coincide with the real foci of Neolithic settlement in the Aegean, a pattern closely coinciding with the preference for the fertile lowlands of Thessaly and Macedonia, as indicated by the geographical distribution of sites. It is only in the later part of the Neolithic that insular and more agriculturally marginal areas are settled (Broodbank 2000, Davis 1992) and that is also a pattern followed by the recovery of anthropomorphic figurines. (This trend will become more apparent when I will later plot the areas against the date of the sites that have yielded figurines). I would suggest, therefore, that while figurines were obviously an integral part of the Neolithic way of life as indicated by their recovery in settled regions of the Aegean, at the same time the evidence suggests that figurines were produced at a higher scale in regions where the number of sites points to a higher population density and/or more extensive sites. A link may be drawn, therefore, between the level of figurine production, population density and relative complexity of social organisation in contrast to the smaller and dispersed communities of other regions in the Aegean.

I d. Provenance of 'sexed' figurines (app. E: Fig. 7, 8)

I will now examine how 'sex' categories can be broken down according to region, in order to assess whether the patterns resulted due to a regional and cultural bias. Figure 8 clearly demonstrates that Female and other Female-related figurines dominate the assemblages in all areas, apart from the Sporades and the S. Aegean (Samos). Admittedly, the exact percentage of Female figurines varies regionally, but in almost all cases (apart from Crete), they account for over 40% of the sample. Also note that in the case of the Dodecanese, only one (Female) figurine has been recovered, which is why the chart presents a somewhat

misleading impression. Another interesting point to stress is that not all regions have produced the category of Female form figurines, with the notable exception of Thrace, C. Mainland, and the Peloponnese, which may be indicative of female gender construction and perception in their particular cultures. The second most common category is that of Asexual and Probably Asexual figurines. Again, the actual percentage does vary regionally, but Asexual figurines seem to represent a considerable proportion of the total sample in all regions. As with the case of the Dodecanese, the high percentage of Asexual and Probably Asexual figurines in the Sporades and the E. Aegean are due to the paucity of evidence. Male figurines, on the other hand, represent a low proportion overall; they are present in the regions of Macedonia, Thessaly, the Cyclades and Crete, but absent from Thrace, Euboia and the Peloponnese, in addition to the regions of the Sporades, S. Aegean and the Dodecanese. Finally, the category of Ambiguous figurines occurs in the four regions of Macedonia, Thessaly, C. Mainland and Crete and amounts to less than 5% of the sample. The parameter of chronology will be brought into the equation at a later stage and will provide possible explanations for the emerging patterns discussed here.

Conclusion: The main point resulting from the analysis above is that female representations with their variations are the most common eidoloplastic theme across the Aegean in the Neolithic period. Strikingly contrasting to this pattern is that male models were rarely produced and their limited circulation indicates that they were the result of regional traditions. This pattern of male figurine manufacture perhaps should be viewed in association with the density of population in a given region, but also as the case of Crete demonstrates, with the concentration of people occupying a site (Knossos), which holds true on both accounts for Thessaly and Macedonia. Interestingly, Ambiguous figurines also follow a similar pattern as Male figurines and they occur in the same regions with the exception of C. Mainland where Probably Male, as opposed to Male figurines have been recovered. I would suggest, therefore, that the more complex picture of gender construction, as that is afforded to us through the variety in the modelling and symbolism of 'sexed' figurines, needs to be considered regionally in association with the density of population ,on one hand, and the resulting complexity of social relationships on the other. Female representations were such a common and widely circulating image that suggests a deep preoccupation of people living in the Neolithic Aegean with womanhood and its implied symbolism. Finally, special attention needs also to be paid to Asexual

representations, since they hint to a more complex and socially negotiable construction of gender than previous interpretations have led us to believe.

II. NEOLITHIC FIGURINES IN THEIR CONTEXT OF RECOVERY, CIRCULATION AND DEPOSITION

II a. Temporal and geographical context of the total sample

➢ **Contextual and typological chronology** (app. E: Fig. 9, 10, 11)

The breakdown of figurines by date of context in Fig. 9 has been grouped for reasons of convenience into the broader categories of 'Early', 'Middle', 'Late', 'Final', 'Final/EBA' (transitional period) to encompass less accurately dated specimens (see *Chapter 1* for more details on Aegean chronology). The category 'Neolithic' is used as a general term when no specific date is available and when the typology is not applicable. 'N/EBA' refers to the period covering from the later Neolithic to early EBA and actual EBA context of recovery and when no more specific dating information is available, while the second column suggests the dating of these figurines on the grounds of their typology. 'LBA' (Late Bronze Age) refers to context of recovery, which is further subdivided on the basis of the suggested typological date in the second column. Another point to explain in Fig. 9 is that chronological phases separated by hyphen (e.g. LN-FN) cover the span from the end of the earlier period to the end of the later (end of LN to end of FN), while the use of slash (e.g. LN/FN) indicates the transitional phase at the end of one period and the beginning of the following only (end of LN, beginning of FN). Finally, the use of a question mark expresses a degree of probability for the indicated chronology.

A number of comments can be made. Even though there are only two figurines dating to the Aceramic period (one from Thessaly and one Aceramic/EN from Crete) (see Fig. 10), they testify that figurine-making is evident as a very early expression of Neolithic culture and ideology at two geographically distinct areas of the Aegean. The Aceramic, therefore, marks the beginning of a cultural trend that, as demonstrated in Fig. 9, continues without a

break throughout the Neolithic. Figurine production not only constituted an integral part of Neolithic society in the Aegean, but also figurines made in the FN and transitional period leading into the EBA suggest that it is a cultural trend which remained relevant for the following period as well.

A chi-square test (Fig. 11) was performed in order to explore whether the production of figurines was consistent throughout the Neolithic. The results show that not all phases produced the same number of figurines, as indicated by the Late and, to a lesser degree, Early phases which yielded more figurines than expected in relation to the number of excavated sites according to each period.

As far as the time of use is concerned, Neolithic figurines seem to have been manufactured and used in the same broad phase, as illustrated by the comparison of contextual and typological dates. This, however, does not exclude the possibility that they were passed on from one generation to the next, considering the long duration of a Neolithic cultural phase. On the other hand, there are instances where Neolithic figurines continue to be in use for a number of generations, presumably either as representations of the ancestral past or as curiosities (Fig. 9 suggests use in EBA and LBA contexts).

Conclusion: Though figurines were being produced throughout the Neolithic period, there is a degree of fluctuation which has implications for the construction of gender through the manipulation of figurines and social organisation in a changing cultural environment. A point to note, however, is that the detected increase in figurine production in the Late period, is affected by the marked increase in specific regions of the Aegean (e.g. Macedonia) which affects the overall proportion (see next section for a more detailed discussion). I am inclined to suggest that the changing patterns may be related to changes in the social and economic organisation of Aegean Neolithic communities, but may also be tied to a shift in the use of figurines (especially in the Final phase), which is discussed at a later stage.

➢ **Temporal and geographical variables** (app. E: Fig. 10, 12)

In this section I will focus on the chronological picture for each area, as indicated by numerical (Fig. 10) and proportional results (Fig. 12). The same chronological terms and groupings explained in the section above apply again.

Figure 10 presents a detailed break-down of each region by chronology. I have not included, however, the figurines that come under the category of 'South', since, apart from the indication of a general provenance, I have not been able to associate them with a higher degree of certainty to a specific region. Figure 12 shows how each broad Neolithic period is represented in the sample of each region in percentages and in a way that a proportional comparison can be achieved between regions and between the broad phases of the same regional sample.

Starting with Thrace, all specimens date to the Late phase. In Macedonia where figurine production begins in the earliest phase, the vast majority of figurines date to the Late phase, which is only third in relative chronological proportions. In the Final period, however, the decrease in figurine numbers is dramatic. In the case of Macedonia the resulting pattern may be the effect of a real excavation and detection bias. For Thessaly, the Early and Middle phases are comparable in terms of production, though a declining trend characterises the Late and Final phases. The Sporades show a pattern of gradual increase for figurine production from the Early to the Middle phases, though no figurines dating to the Late and Final phases were recovered. In the C. Mainland figurine production shows an increasing trend from the Early to the Late phase, which decreases dramatically in the Final. A similar pattern is also echoed by the evidence from the Peloponnese. The Cyclades and Euboia present a similar pattern, since the vast majority of figurines date to the Late period, followed by a marked decrease in the Final, while figurines dating to the Early and Middle periods are completely absent. The limited evidence from the S. Aegean and the Dodecanese suggests a pattern similar to the other islands. In the case of Crete, the pattern is similar to that of Macedonia and the Peloponnese with an increase of figurines from the Early to the Late period which also represents the highest proportion in comparison to all other phases. The Final phase again represents a dramatic decrease in figurine production.

Another point is that a very few specimens have also come from the Ionian islands (only from Corfu) and the Dodecanese (Rhodes and Karpathos) (Orphanidi 1998), but the evidence is not enough to allow meaningful conclusions (these figurines are not included in my database, since no photograph or sketch is provided in the publication).

Conclusion: The overall pattern suggests that in the Late period there is an increase in figurine production in most regions of the Aegean, as also indicated in Fig. 11. The patterns, therefore, do not support the possibility that regional traditions may account for the varying proportions. In fact, the regions that indicate the beginning of figurine production in the Late phases are those where systematic occupation dates later than in other parts of the Aegean. More precisely, the pattern that became apparent from my sample has parallels with the model of population dispersal for the Neolithic Aegean. Hence, figurines occur at the same time as permanent occupation, as attested in the case of the Cyclades (Broodbank 2000, 145-9; Davis 1992, 672). In reference to the high figurine numbers that date to the LN period, we should view them as a result of demographic rise [possibly in the case of Knossos (see Broodbank 1992, Evans, J, 1971)] and settlement expansion into new areas, such as eastern Macedonia, Thrace, the Cyclades and the SE and SW parts of the mainland (Halstead 1994). The population dispersing from core habitation regions to more marginal ones in the LN and FN can explain the decrease in production in Thessaly. The pattern that emerges for the Final phase for the whole of the Aegean, which is a dramatic decrease in numbers, could be explained as reflecting the shift in the use of figurines from settlement to burial contexts, a point that will be discussed later in more detail. Use in a burial context may have restricted their production. Moreover, apart from the change in use, another possibility is that the drop in figurine production may have been the result of a shift in the social groups that were responsible for their manufacture.

II b. Temporal context of 'sexed' figurines

➢ The chronology of 'sexed' figurines (app. E: Fig. 13, 14)

Another stage of the analysis is to relate 'sexed' figurines to different chronological phases, in order to explore whether there is a shift in the preference of one 'sex' category over another. Figure 13 presents the available data in numeric form and links the 'sexed' categories of figurines to the broad chronological phases of Early (E), Middle (M), Late (L), Final (Fn) and Final/EBA (F/E). Figure 14, on the other hand, shows the ratio of the 'sexed' categories to each other per chronological phase. A point to note is that for Fig. 14 I have merged the results of Fn and F/E columns from Fig. 13 as a way of presenting more comparable results.

In phase E, we see a clear predominance of Female figurines, further augmented if we also include the Female-related categories of Probably Female and Female form, which in total would reach almost 75% of the whole assemblage. The situation is very different for the Male and Probably Male figurines that together represent only 2% of the sample. Asexual figurines are the second highest category reaching just above 10% and the figure is double if we also include the Probably Asexual sample. Almost 1% of the assemblage is constituted of a few Ambiguous figurines.

In phase M, the proportion of Female representations stays almost the same even though there is a slight decrease overall in numbers. Female figurines are also fewer in comparison to the other Female-related figurines. With Male figurines their relative proportion is just under double the previous period. Also the Asexual and Probably Asexual figurines increase in proportion, even though the numbers are almost the same as for the Early period. What phase M shows, therefore, in comparison to E is that there is a small shift in the pattern, with some decrease of Female representations, and an increase of Male and Asexual categories, although the overall patterns shows a general stability from phase E with the Ambiguous being also present in the M assemblage.

In phase L, Female-related figurines stay the same overall as in the previous period. The numbers of Female figurines increase considerably, but their proportion stays almost the same as in period M. The Probably Female category decreases, as the Female form one increases. Male figurines are more numerous than in the previous two periods, but the ratio to the other categories is slightly less than in phase M. There is a considerable increase of Asexual figurines, however, in comparison to both previous periods, even though the Probably Asexual category decreases. The remaining proportion, if we extract Female-related categories and Male figurines, however, is consistently represented by Asexual or Probably Asexual figurines. If some of the Probably Asexual figurines, though, may account for 'sexed', Male figurines, the increase of Asexual representations shows a shift in the eidoloplastic repertoire. Finally, the Ambiguous category continues to be present in this phase as well.

For period Fn I have grouped together the FN and FN/EBA samples as a way of detecting more meaningful and less fragmented patterns. The results show that there is not a great difference in the relative proportions of 'sexed' categories compared to the previous phases. The Female and Female-related proportion, as well as the Male category stay very much at similar levels. Asexual figurines increase slightly, while the Ambiguous ones are completely absent from the sample.

Conclusion: Representations of female bodies are the most common theme throughout the whole of the Neolithic. Representations of men stand for a very small percentage, while Asexual figurines are the second main category. Asexual figurines, among other possibilities, may have represented 'genderless' life stages or a third gender (see *Chapter 7* for discussion). Another possibility is that perhaps some of the Probably Asexual figurines may have represented male figurines, which would make the difference between Female and Male representations less unequal. Ambiguous figurines is a category that is not very common, but is, nevertheless, present up until the LN phase and represents an interesting phenomenon probably indicating a third gender category, or alternatively symbolic connotations for how gender was perceived in the minds of Neolithic people. The common and continuing repertoire of Female representations, however, would suggest that there is maintenance of the ideas projected onto figurines. Even though the use of figurines changes in phase Fn, the fact that the thematic subject stayed the same throughout the Neolithic

indicates that what we detect an expansion of the context in which figurines were circulating towards the end of the Neolithic, but not in the representative symbolism behind them. It would be reasonable to assume, therefore, that the producers of the figurines, the represented theme, and also the social group to whom they were relevant ideologically, did not change in the period of the Neolithic.

II c. Categories of site type of the total recovered sample and temporal variables

➢ Range of site types and recovered figurines (app. E: Fig. 15)

Figure 15 presents a list of the category of sites and the number of figurines they have provided. The categories discussed are open-air settlements (OS), cave sites (CS), burial sites (BS), non-secure burial sites (BS?), and Nk refers to figurines that have come from broader regions without a more precise provevance, unknown sites (when the publication does not indicate where the figurines were found), or as a result of surface recoveries that cannot be securely placed in any of the above defined categories.

The results show a striking predominance of OS as the main context of use for Neolithic figurines. Figurines from OS tend to be found in domestic contexts and general habitational strata with evidence for ordinary settlement activities. The next category is that of CS, although the number of such sites yielding figurines is much smaller than for OS. Though Neolithic caves have sometimes been associated with burials (e.g. Franchthi, Alepotrypa, Spelaio tou Eurypide and Spelaio Sarakenou), they are generally considered to have served as seasonal or permanent occupation sites and that is why the evidence from Theopetra cave also indicates the usual activities also attested in OS (Kyparissi-Apostolika 1999). The fact that none of the figurines has an *in situ* association with any of the burials inside the caves, as well as the presence of evidence indicating everyday activities, suggests that figurines found in CS should also be considered as probably having the same use as those from OS. The third category is BS. The secure burial sites in my sample are represented by two EN sites in Thessaly (Plateia Magoula and Soufli Magoula) and the LN-FN site of

Kephala in the Cyclades. Other figurines that are said to have come from burial sites have come from Thessaly, Euboia and the Cyclades.

Conclusion: It is clear that the vast majority of figurines have come from OS. The same activities also present in cave sites suggest that figurines accompanied their owners into their cave dwellings, when that was necessary. Both categories of sites and the abundance of figurines in the living spaces of Neolithic inhabitants offer more support for my argument that anthropomorphic figurines were an integral part of Neolithic culture in the Aegean and that the patterns of their dispersal are strongly tied to the movement of the population around the landscape in terms of mobility and foundation of new settlements. Finally, it is worth mentioning the few EN instances when figurines have come from cremation sites (BS), which are isolated and restricted cases; however they suggest that figurines occasionally bridged over from the realm of the living to that of the dead, perhaps by representing spiritual entities. The case of Kephala, however, is of special interest as it falls in the transitional period between the Neolithic and the EBA, and secondly, because for the first time it marks a funerary trend that continues strongly throughout the succeeding period of the EBA. Though the figurines have not been found in direct association with any of the burials, they mark a trend towards circulation in the sphere of death which suggests a shift in use, and perhaps meaning, largely characterising the following EBA period.

- **Categories of sites and recovered figurines in relation to chronology** (app. E: Fig. 16, 17)

In this section I relate each category of site to broad chronological phases for reasons of convenience. Figure 16 presents the two variables and the total number of figurines from a given type of site dating to a given phase in the Neolithic and Fig. 17 converts the two variables into percentages.

The first pattern that we observe suggests that OS are by far the most common type of site that has yielded figurines. In fact, the percentages from the E, M and L phases present a very similar proportion of figurines from OS. The F period, however, marks a change, as

the number of figurines from OS decreases slightly, a pattern that could perhaps be explained as a result of the archaeologically attested abandonment of certain sites in Macedonia and Thessaly (Halstead 1994). More importantly, however, the missing proportion of figurines from OS is replaced in the F period by those recovered from BS, a trend already discussed above. Those Neolithic figurines that have been recovered from EBA and LBA contexts suggest curation in living areas.

CS, like the OS, have yielded figurines throughout the Neolithic, although at a much lower rate. The highest proportion of figurines from such sites date to the M phase with the E representing the lowest proportion. When the context has not been disturbed, caves seem to have served the same use throughout the whole Neolithic and so I would argue that there is no real shift in the use of figurines inside caves from one period of the Neolithic to another.

Finally, figurines coming from BS (the lowest of all proportions for most of the Neolithic) date to the E, L, but mainly to the Fn phases. The tradition of placing figurines in a burial context in the Early period was geographically limited to Thessaly, ceases in the M period, occurs again to some degree in the L phase and increases dramatically in the Fn. As I have already mentioned, the case of Kephala marks a new trend in the transitional period, which was also followed in the EBA. With the cases of "said to be" BS, the same pattern emerges. All of these figurines fall into the LN and FN dates and were recovered from sites in Thessaly (two), Euboia (three) and the Cyclades (three).

Conclusion: OS are the most common category of sites where figurines occur, which would suggest that they accompanied Neolithic inhabitants in their daily activities. Figurines from the LN and FN phases for the first time are used systematically in a different kind of context in which, even if they retained their ideological meaning from their circulation in living spaces, suggests that they crossed over to the realm of the dead. This trend could be explained as reflecting a shift in the religious ideology of Neolithic people. Finally, if we take into consideration that the Aegean from the LN becomes more densely populated, new areas are inhabited and the size of communities increases (Broodbank 2000, Davis 1992, Halstead 1994 and 1995), then we need to rethink why figurine production seems to decrease in the FN period. To some degree what we observe may be a combination of a decrease in figurine production, on the one hand, but also a shift in the context in which

figurines are in use, on the other. New discoveries of LN and FN burial sites, of course, would elucidate this point even further.

II d. 'Sexed' figurines and their distribution by category of site (app. E: Fig. 18)

In this section I relate 'sexed' figurines to the four main types of sites (OS, CS, BS and BS?). For reference purposes I have also included the figurines that are either surface finds or have no certain provenance under (Nk).

Starting with OS, we find all the categories of 'sexed' figurines: Female, Female-related, Male, Asexual and even all the Ambiguous figurines. The predominance of Female figurines reflects of course their general predominance in the Neolithic assemblage. In the CS, we find Female, Male and Asexual figurines and, as I have already argued, cave figurine assemblages should be seen as following the pattern of OS. Ambiguous figurines have not been found, but if we consider the small number of such figurines in the whole sample, this should be expected. An interesting pattern would emerge if all or most of the few Ambiguous figurines had been unearthed only from C or BS, but this is not the case. The main 'sex' categories are again present in BS and BS?. The specimens are few, but at least suggest that Female, Male and Asexual figurines were all associated with funerary rites. When I related the results regarding specimens from funerary contexts to the EN, LN and FN periods, I also found that Female and Asexual figurines are both present; the only difference is that out of the three early figurines, there are no Male specimens. The size of the Male and Probably Male sample, however, is very small and does not allow us to draw further conclusions.

Conclusion: The distribution of all categories of 'sexed' figurines in site types found in the Neolithic Aegean suggests that there is no correlation between the representation of gender and its circulation in a given type of site. The notions of femaleness, maleness and even 'asexuality' as expressed by the figurines, seem to have coexisted and were relevant in the everyday use of OS and CS living spaces. Furthermore, the small sample from BS and BS?

also suggests the same pattern of use of 'sexed' figurines as in the sphere of the living. It is possible that figurines circulating in the context of funerary rites, in synchronicity with those from settlements, carried with them the meaning and gender associations they had among the living.

II e. Figurines and their contextual relationships

➢ Range of contexts of recovered figurines in relation to region and relevant chronology (app. E: Fig. 19, 20, 21)

This section focuses on the range of specific contexts (i.e. within sites) that have yielded figurines. As is shown in Fig. 19, I have divided context into three main categories: (a) Habitational/Domestic, (b) Funerary, and (c) Ritual.

I should first stress that detailed contextual information is not available for many of the figurines. The results that I present, however, allow me to argue that the majority of figurines were used in a habitational/domestic context (Fig. 19), a point that was already becoming apparent from the type of sites (OS and CS against BS) that yielded figurines (Fig. 17). If we turn to Fig. 19 again, we find that figurines have been found in general activity areas, houses and courtyards. Such activity areas are marked by the presence of tools and implements suggesting food or material processing. Other contexts are hearths and ovens (occasionally with a platform) in the courtyard area. Houses and general domestic contexts have also produced figurines. A few figurines have been unearthed from fills or pits discarded with other materials. Finally, cave contexts also come under the category of habitation, since figurines are associated with the same range of artefacts as in settlement areas. The cases of curated figurines have also turned up in habitational strata (HS).

In terms of proportional analysis, the majority of figurines have been found in general HS, though the information is not available to place them in a precise domestic or settlement context. A considerable number of figurines has been recovered from houses, including

two-room structures. The next highest category is that of the courtyard area, where figurines have been found in association with general activity areas, ovens, hearths or fire-pit platforms. Figurines found on platforms may suggest that, apart from some being suspended as amulets, some may have also been placed on a surface that would protect them from being damaged but would also give them a prominent position in space. The conclusion we can reach, therefore, is that the vast majority of figurines were in circulation in OS of the mainland (Thessaly, Macedonia, Peloponnese and Central Mainland), accompanied their Neolithic owners in their daily activities whether inside houses, or in their courtyard areas and settlement spaces (see Fig. 19). An important point to raise here is that Gimbutas (1986) has argued that figurines found in the two-room structures at Achilleion represented deities in a shrine context. Her argument, however, is based on associated artefacts that she named "cult" (decorated pottery being the main type), which I would argue can more likely be seen as presenting social inequalities (see Maniatis *et al* 1988 for Sesklo) rather than a ritual function of the structures, since the rest of the finds do not differ greatly from the usual domestic context of a one-room Neolithic house.

If we relate the habitational/domestic context of recovery to broad chronology (see Fig. 21), the following patterns emerge. The number of figurines from habitational/domestic contexts decreases in the Final period, a pattern also confirmed by Fig. 17 showing a decrease of figurines from OS in the Fn phase. In the FN period figurines still come from houses or general HS, but courtyard activity and oven areas are completely absent from our sample. For this part, I will not concentrate on the figurines found in EBA domestic contexts as later it will become apparent that, in comparison to the numbers recovered from funerary contexts, they represent a very small proportion (see *Chapter 6*). The difference between Fig. 21 and Fig. 20, however, is explained because while in Fig. 20 I related figurines from OS to those from other types, in Fig. 21 I have related figurines from habitational/domestic contexts to each other on the basis of their chronology. Moreover, the proportions of Fig. 21 have been based only on those figurines with a precise stratigraphic and contextual description (Fig. 20) which could also account for the chronological break-down we see. A factor that most definitely would have affected the proportions in Fig. 21 is also the differential standards in the recording and publication strategies followed by individual researchers.

In funerary contexts (Fig. 19), the category "Burials" includes two figurines found in association with the cremations at Plateia Magoula Zarkou, one figurine probably associated with a grave at Kephala, as well as three figurines said to be from a grave group from Euboia, three more from a possible grave group in the Cyclades (no further information is provided), and the same for three more from a grave group from Thessaly. Of course, the only secure cases are those from Plateia Magoula Zarkou, and Kephala where there is a direct association. Seven figurines have also been found in the general cemetery area, but not directly associated with the graves, all from Kephala. Finally, one figurine has been recovered from cremation debris at Soufli Magoula. We see, therefore, that as was expected from looking at the results by site category, funerary context is not common at all in the Aegean Neolithic.

In the case of the chronology of funerary contexts, the picture we see in Fig. 21 closely resembles that of Fig. 17, with the E period accounting for a very small percentage, the Male being completely absent and a re-occurrence and clustering in the L and Fn phases. A point to note, however, is that while Fig. 17 presents the picture on the basis of the type of site, Fig. 21 is based on the numbers of Fig. 20, which include only those figurines for which precise contextual information is provided in the publication. Fig. 17 also shows an increase of figurines from BS in the Fn phase (with a synchronous decrease of figurines recovered from OS). The slightly different picture presented by Fig.21, however, with an almost equal proportion divided between L and Fn funerary contexts should not mislead us, since it provides the relative proportion of figurines from funerary contexts only and not in comparison to other contexts. The lower proportion of Late BS (Fig. 17), therefore, is a result of a higher relative proportion of figurines from OS, which seem to decrease in relation to those from other sites in the Fn phase, hence the higher percentage of BS for that period. If we now zoom into the absolute proportions of figurines recovered from funerary contexts (Fig. 21), there is an almost equal percentage for L and Fn specimens. After considering the trends revealed in Figures 17 and 21, I conclude that the corresponding relative increase of figurines from BS and the high proportion of figurines from funerary contexts in the Fn period suggest a real shift in the use and circulation of figurines, which began in the L phase, but had a noticeable impact on the customs of figurine use at the end of the Neolithic period.

The final category discussed is that of possible ritual context. Starting with the E period, two figurines from Nea Nikomedeia (Macedonia) were found in what Rodden (1964, 114) termed "ritual" structure and which Pyke in a more recent publication describes as an unusually large structure of a possible ritual character (in Rodden & Wardle 1996, 48-9). Its unusual large size exceeds by far the average for other structures in Nea Nikomedeia (Pyke 1996, 48), though no other finds or features associated with the figurines allow us a closer definition of their context as securely ritual, since the unusually large structure may be indicative of social differentiation.

Conclusion: The majority of figurines seem to have been used around the living spaces of houses and courtyard areas and accompanied their Neolithic owners in their daily lives. A point to note here is that courtyards have also been interpreted as areas where a group of one main house and subordinate groups living in smaller buildings were enclosed and were thus demarcated from other courtyard areas and "courtyard groups" within the same site (Halstead 1995, 14). The presence of figurines in such contexts attests to their use perhaps at a narrowly communal level among groups belonging to the same 'social cluster'. It is not until later that figurines are found in greater numbers in association with the dead, a trend also accompanied by a relative decrease of figurines from habitational/domestic contexts of OS and CS. It is in this final phase, therefore, that we should envisage a change in the use and meaning of figurines, as well as an adjustment of gender-related tactics associated with them. The final point that I would like to stress is that despite the arguments of Gimbutas and followers of the Mother-Goddess theory, the evidence is simply not there in the Neolithic Aegean to support the idea that figurines represented female goddesses in exclusively religious contexts. In fact, even the possible ritual case of Nea Nikomedeia does not conform to the ritual contexts in which Gimbutas placed the so-called goddesses.

➢ **Finds and features associated with figurines** (app. E: Fig. 22, 23, 24)

In Fig. 22 I have presented the range of artefacts that have an *in situ* association with figurines, meaning a direct stratigraphic link (find-spot), as opposed to a general recovery of figurines from the same stratigraphic layer in the same broader context, but not

associated in terms of actual deposition (association by stratigraphic layer, Fig. 23). The results show that when figurines are not found in isolation, they tend to be associated with one or more other figurines in a human or animal form. Tools (associated with processing of materials), utensils (used as food-related implements) and pottery also accompany figurines regularly in their context of recovery, illustrating even further that figurines circulated in living spaces. Other similar artefacts are obsidian blades or cores, spinning and weaving equipment. Another range of associated materials includes ornaments which also occur along with the usual finds from habitation strata, such as tools and pottery. Marble vessels associated with figurines come from EN living spaces and the so-called grave group from the Cyclades. The "cultic" equipment again is associated with figurines in living areas, but I need to stress here that in this category I do not include the fine pottery that Gimbutas has interpreted as bearing "religious" symbols. They are rather miniature objects with no obvious functional use (clay phalloi, miniature furniture). Two stamp seals have both come from MN domestic deposits from Achilleion, but we cannot be sure of their function. Finally, of the human bones that have been associated with figurines, in one case were found in Achilleion in a refuse pit and in three more instances in Franchthi cave, where human burials were disturbed and mixed with the habitational strata and, therefore, I think are unlikely to be related to human burials.

In order to examine how representative the above results are in relation to the archaeological record, I have listed the finds that were in circulation in the same stratigraphic layer and in the same broader context with the figurines, as a way of placing them in a broader context of use (Fig. 23). The results coincide very well with the table of artefacts directly associated with figurines in Fig. 22 and the information provided is indicative of the trends that became apparent above.

A final point to consider is the range of features directly associated with figurines, as presented in Fig. 24. A similar pattern again becomes apparent as the one indicated by the associated finds. The features that are directly associated with figurines suggest that they again circulated in domestic and living spaces (in association with houses, activity areas, hearths and ovens), a pattern already discussed previously in relation to the predominant habitational/domestic recovery contexts. When looking at the range of features that were

present in the same stratigraphic layer and broader context as the figurines, they too verify the patchy evidence we have for features in direct contextual association.

Conclusion: It is evident that if we combine the information we have for general context, associated finds and features, but also finds and features belonging to the same stratigraphic layer as the figurines, all point to the same pattern. Figurines in the Neolithic Aegean covering mainly the EN, MN and LN phases were circulating in the living spaces of houses, courtyards, activity areas within the household compound and in between houses. It is, however, a trend that seems to become less strong as the Neolithic comes to its end and this should be seen mainly as a result of a shift in figurine use from the living to the funerary sphere.

II f. 'Sexed' figurines and their contextual relationships (app. E: Fig. 25, 26, 27)

I will now examine how figurines relate to their actual archaeological context, even though the sample of 'sexed' figurines from known contexts is fairly small. It is the presence or absence of one type of 'sexed' category, however, that would be more meaningful in this exercise than the size of the sample.

As in the case of the living spaces from OS and CS above, almost all 'sex' categories are present in these habitational contexts. Unfortunately, in the case of Male figurines, the specimens are few, but they nevertheless suggest that they were also included in domestic contexts. Of course, since Female-type figurines are more numerous, we have a wider range of contexts available which allow us to draw more secure conclusions. Female figurines were present in the courtyard area around hearths, ovens and activity spaces, but also inside houses. The association of finds such as utensils, tools, obsidian, pottery, weaving equipment and animal bones are clear indications that the figurines were circulating alongside utilitarian objects that would have been employed for the most mundane chores. They were often grouped together, regardless of what they represented, but also with other objects such as house models, clay phalloi or miniature furniture. The fact that figurines

have been found inside house models offers more support to the idea that figurines may have been representing the people they accompanied and that is why they were modelled as occupiers of a house. Moreover, the fact that most of the figurines found inside these model houses represent women, could also be taken as suggesting a strong link between domestic space and female presence.

It was most probably the same Female figurines used inside the houses that would have also been carried out to the courtyard to accompany Neolithic people in their everyday activities. These representations of women would have been relevant to the quotidian life and they would have circulated in the same spaces that men were also present. In some cases, these female representations would have also been placed on platforms and they would have presumably attracted a certain degree of attention as a result. Not all figurines, however, were as carefully handled as we may have thought. Their use in activity spaces outside the house and even the fact that sometimes fell into a hearth or were thrown into pits would point to the fact that these Female figurines (and I suspect those of other 'sexed' categories) must have been handled a lot, not necessarily as a prized possession. I would argue that figurines worn as amulets would have had a more personal value for their owners than those found circulating among habitational strata.

The other categories found alongside the Female figurines in domestic spaces are a few Male and the more numerous Asexual specimens. The sample of Male figurines is very small, but we can at least argue that they held the same place inside the settlement space as Female ones. The few cases we can mention show that they would have been used inside houses, but also in relation to activity and processing locations. Their association with pottery and tools suggests that they would have not differed from the use of Female figurines, with which they would have also been associated. Even though the presence of represented men is nowhere near the scale of female figurines, the evidence is enough to establish a link between maleness and the domestic spaces. Additional evidence to support the argument is also the circulation of clay phalloi in the same spaces dominated by Female figurines.

Finally, Asexual and Probably Asexual figurines also follow largely the same pattern as Female figurines. They also occur in activity and domestic contexts with a similar range of

associated finds and features. One of them has also been found on a platform. Asexual figurines, therefore, follow the same pattern of use as their Female and Male counterparts. As the analysis will show later, Asexual figurines more likely represented variations of the 'sexed' type, and that is why the pattern regarding their use is so similar to the other more clearly marked figurines. As in the previous cases, they have also been recovered from pits.

In funerary context, we find that a predominance of Female figurines is associated with cemeteries and burials, although the presence of Male and Asexual specimens is enough to suggest that they were not excluded from the symbolism of death. As I argue later on, if from the LN onwards these figurines represented spiritual protectors (as opposed to self-projecting images), we should not be surprised that they also found their way into cemeteries. The fact that they were both Female and Male suggests that there was not a designation of one 'sexed' category for one particular use, as we have already seen in the section referring to site type.

Finally, the two cases of Female figurines found in a possible ritual context (large structure, Nea Nikomedeia, Macedonia) may indicate that representations of the female body played a central role in the belief system of EN life. The fact that such evidence is very limited (only two possible cases) and that it is restricted to the earliest part of the Neolithic in Macedonia only, cautions us against assumptions that figurines were 'worshipped' in a formal ritual context in the Aegean Neolithic. The other case of possible cult use falls out of the time span of the Neolithic and is more an indication of how Neolithic figurines may have been used in later contexts.

Conclusion: There is no clear distinction between Female, Male or Asexual representations in relation to their circulation. As one would expect from an assemblage where Female figurines predominate, there is a higher occurrence of such figurines in domestic and living spaces over other categories of 'sexed' figurines. Only the absence of Male or Asexual figurines would have been meaningful as an indication for differentiation of use among the 'sexed' class of figurines. All sex categories, however, were present in the everyday lives of Neolithic people. The more unusual associations that some of them had with fine pottery could be explained, however, as an indication of the status of the occupier, rather than a

cult space where ritual activities would have taken place, as put forward by Gimbutas for Achilleion.

III. NEOLITHIC FIGURINES AND SOME ASPECTS OF MANUFACTURE

III a. Use of material in the total sample according to region (app. E: Fig. 28, 29, 30, 31)

The chart in Fig. 30 shows that the type of material widely preferred for the manufacture of figurines is that of clay, followed by marble, other kinds of stone, bone and finally shell. Also the chi-square that was performed (Fig. 31) confirms that not all materials were equally preferred for the manufacture if figurines, with clay being more widely used than other materials. Clay figurines are present in all the geographical areas of the Aegean (Fig. 28, 29), with a predominance in Thessaly, but that is expected since Thessalian figurines represent the majority in my sample. A brief look at the other areas shows that in all cases, apart from the Cyclades, clay is the preferred material for the production of figurines (Fig. 28). Notably, in the case of Thrace, the sample is represented exclusively by clay figurines.

Marble is the second highest category used for figurines, although the total is considerably lower than it is for clay (9.63% as opposed to 83.97%). A very low percentage (8.75%) of marble figurines is present in Thessaly, but on Crete almost 1/6 of figurines are made of marble. A point of particular interest is that Crete has very few marble sources (Warren 1969, 134-5), unlike the Cyclades where marble is abundant and marble figurines predominate. In the remaining regions now, almost one quarter of the whole assemblage is made of marble in the region of Euboia (27.27%), although the general trend is a predominance of clay, with the exception of the Cyclades (57.57%) where the majority of figurines were made of marble. In areas where marble is absent (i.e. Sporades and Thrace) I would suggest that they reflect the influence from their neighbouring areas of Thessaly and Macedonia respectively.

Looking at the use of stone other than marble, it seems to echo the patterns for marble on a lower scale. In the case of the Cyclades, however, there seems to be a clear preference for marble and not stone in general. Finally, we have only two shell specimens in the Neolithic Aegean, from Crete and Thessaly, which do not allow us to draw any clear conclusions.

III b. Material used for figurines according to broad chronology (app. E: Fig. 32, 33, 34)

In Fig. 32, I have related the use of material to broad chronology for reasons of convenience. In cases where figurines have been found outside the span of the Neolithic period or the contextual and typological dating does not coincide, I have indicated a suggested chronology on typological grounds. Even though linking the type of material circulating in a given Neolithic period is crucial, I also believe that it is equally important to establish when there was a change in patterns regarding the choice of material for figurine production and this is where the suggested typological chronology can prove useful.

The category of clay was widely used for the production of figurines throughout the Neolithic period until we reach the Neolithic-EBA transitional stage. It is worth noting at this point that the Neolithic clay figurines found in EBA contexts are more likely to have been produced in the L period, which again attests to the wide preference for clay up until the end of the LN, even alongside other increasingly popular materials. In the case of bone figurines, however, we find that the only specimens date to the Early (Macedonia) and Late (Thessaly, Central Mainland, Cyclades, Crete) parts of the Neolithic. Unfortunately, the numbers are too small to be able to see a clear pattern.

In the L phase, however, other materials such as marble and other stone start being used in greater quantities (Fig. 34). In the Final period there is a slight increase in the use of marble from the Late period (13.7%, as opposed to 11.6%) and it seems to be a pattern that covered most of the Aegean, with the exception of Thrace, Macedonia and Crete. The fact that the use of marble is a later phenomenon is indicated also by the high numbers dating to the later phases, but also the contextual and typological dating seem to coincide, which would

suggest an actual shift in manufacture rather than a pattern affected by the circulation of earlier figurines in later contexts. The same can also be said for the use of other stone, which follows the pattern for marble. Finally, as far as the use of shell is concerned, the available specimens are too few to form a meaningful conclusion apart from the fact that it definitely was not the kind of material that Neolithic people would have used if they had the choice. It is possible, however, that the brittle nature of shell may explain why more specimens have not survived. In conclusion, I would also like to add that, as is known to us ethnographically, figurines can also be made of wood and it is a possibility that we should not dismiss in our interpretation.

III c. **Material used for figurines according to category of site** (app. E: Fig. 35)

In this section I wish to establish whether the choice of the material would have been dictated by the context in which the figurine would have been used. Figure 35 shows that in the most numerous category of clay, figurines circulated around OS and this trend appears to have been strongest before the FN period. A much smaller number of figurines has been found in CS. Two EN clay figurines from Franchthi and 12 more later specimens from Franchthi and Geranio on Crete suggest that figurines followed Neolithic people there when they occupied caves. The finds from the HS in caves also confirm that figurines have the same use as they did in OS contexts. In the LN period, clay figurines come from a wider range of CS, namely Aleportypa in the Peloponnese, Kitsos in Attica, Spelaio Sarakenou on Euboia and, of course, Franchthi cave. Though it has been difficult to establish direct stratigraphic association in CS, evidence seems to suggest that burials dated to the LN period as at Franchthi, Alepotrypa and Spelaio Sarakenou. Though, as I have stressed, we cannot securely draw a link, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that in the context of figurines associated with the burials of Kephala at the same time as FN cave burials, figurines from caves may have had a similar funerary association. As to the clay figurines in funerary contexts, with the exception of the EN Thessalian examples, the LN, FN and FN/EBA examples all come from the cemetery of Kephala. I think, therefore, that the use of material for figurine manufacture was not dependent on their use in any category of site,

since they seem to be present in all three main types in proportions that match the numbers of figurines per material category.

Marble and other stone presents a similar situation with some minor differences. Marble and (other) stone figurines are present at OS, but at a much lower level than clay ones (7.77% and 5.92% accordingly, as opposed to 85.80%). The number increases in the LN, which seems to be a trend for the most of the Aegean OS. The numbers are lower in the final stage of the Neolithic and this seems to be a pattern that extends in the southern regions of the mainland and the Cyclades. During the transitional period of FN-EBA, clay figurines have been recovered from Thessaly (namely Pefkakia Magoula) and Crete only. When we turn to the use of marble and stone figurines in CS, the numbers are a lot lower, but comparable in proportion to the clay assemblage found in OS. All such specimens date to the Late and Final phases of the Neolithic and all the sites tend to be located in the south (two in the Peloponnese, one on Salamina and one said to be from Thessaly). Again, as in the case of clay figurines, burials were present in three of these caves, although this would not exclude the possibility that figurines accompanied humans during their seasonal occupations. Moving on to the funerary context, we lack secure evidence to draw a strong link between marble and stone figurines and cemeteries. All the cases of marble and the one of other stone, found in a non-habitational context come from "said to be" graves. Nonetheless, their chronology fits with the pattern we have for increased use of marble in the later part of the Neolithic. Moreover, they concentrate in the areas of Thessaly, Euboia and the Cyclades, which may explain the trend for associating figurines with burials as more of a south-central Aegean phenomenon.

Conclusion: The three main categories of material are used in OS mainly during the EN, MN and LN periods. Clay dominates the assemblage. I would not suggest, however, that one type of material would have been chosen depending on the context of use. Even when we consider the chronological parameter, clay and marble are used alongside each other in funerary contexts (assuming we include the specimens of dubious provenance). The pattern that emerges, therefore, is more one related to date rather than one linked to use in a specific context. Finally, as far as the few specimens of bone and shell are concerned, we cannot argue anything conclusive regarding the type of site.

III d. **Material in relation to how the body is rendered** (app. E: Fig. 36)

The reasons behind my decision to develop a body-typology have already been explained (see *Chapter 4*: *IV e*). In this section, therefore, I will link the body-typology to material, as I wish to explore whether the use of material was chosen according to the type of body that the manufacturer already had preconceived.

Starting with the clay figurines, we find that the majority (anthropomorphic and zoomorphic) represent relatively naturalistic bodies in a corpulent or proportionate form, but also some with steatopygia. Interestingly, even within these categories, Neolithic craftspeople also chose to render some of the bodies in a more abstract, schematic, even amorphous, way that one would have rather expected as a result of using a more restrictive material, such as stone. Moreover, all the cases of zoomorphic figurines are made of clay, which should be expected as it is a rather rare category and clay figurines dominate the assemblage. Turning now to marble and other stone, we also find that they have been used to represent naturalistic bodies, especially in the case of steatopygous figurines. It would seem, however, that despite the aim to represent naturalistic rather than abstract bodies, the choice of the hard material tends to result in a rather schematic form, as indicated by the cases of "corpulent, schematic", "proportionate schematic" and "steatopygous, schematic" figurines. Finally, bone seems to have been used mainly for schematic shapes, as opposed to shell, which is represented by naturalistic as well as schematic examples.

Conclusion: There is a restriction in the degree of naturalism that the choice of a hard material would have allowed for the representation of the human body. On the other hand, as indicated by clay figurines, a considerable proportion did represent a more abstract shape of the human form, even though the degree of naturalism that could be reached through the medium of clay would have been much higher. The examples of more schematic clay figurines, therefore, would suggest that the nature of the human form would not have been the result of the choice of material. Rather, the degree to which figurines were intended to represent naturalistic bodies was a deliberate choice. The harder materials would have restricted the naturalism of the figurine more in the method in which it was achieved than in the intention to portray realistic bodies. I conclude, therefore, that the choice of how to

render the human body was more of a conceptual and purposeful choice and not a result of the selection of material.

III e. Use of material in relation to 'sex' categories (app. E: Fig. 37, 38, 39)

The material that comprises the vast majority of the figurine assemblage is clay. As shown in a previous section, clay seems to have been widely used throughout the Aegean (Fig. 30, Fig. 30) and for most of the phases (Fig. 32, Fig. 33). A look at the proportions represented by the different 'sex' categories, shows Female and Female-related figurines as the main type of figurines made of clay. The next category is that of Asexual figurines, and Probably Asexual ones, while Male and Probably Male figurines comprise around 5% of the total clay assemblage. Interestingly, all Ambiguous figurines were made of clay.

Marble is the second material preferred for the manufacture of figurines, though it is much lower numerically than clay. The analysis has shown, nevertheless, that though Female figurines account for almost the same proportion as in the clay assemblage, we find that the Female form type scores much higher. Since Female form figurines express femaleness through the general outline of the body, the higher percentage suggests that the harder nature of marble was more suited to less naturalistic representations of the female body. Similar to the Female form figurines, we also find that Asexual figurines are of a higher percentage than their clay counterparts. Again, unlike clay, marble expressed the human form in a more summary way and less naturalistically. The proportion of Male marble figurines are fewer than for clay (1.2% and 2.39% accordingly), while Ambiguous figurines are completely absent from the sample.

Apart from marble, other stones were also used for the production of figurines. The proportions resemble those for marble, with a predominance of Female figurines, while Female form and Asexual types also reach a higher percentage than they do in the clay assemblage with Asexual figurines rating even higher than they do for marble. As I have argued for marble, stone is also used for the less definite 'sex' categories than clay. Again Ambiguous figurines are absent from the assemblage.

Finally, bone and shell are the least used types of material and both have been used for the manufacture of Female representations, as opposed to the Male ones which are missing completely from the assemblage. In the case of bone, however, there are also two Asexual specimens, which we do not find in shell. The small size of the shell assemblage does not allow us to see any clear patterns, but it is possible to say that perhaps shell may have been used exclusively for the representation of female images. No Ambiguous figurines were made of bone or shell.

The above results would suggest that there was no material used for the production of figurines that was not employed for the representation of female imagery. Apart from being the most common form in the eidoloplastic repertoire in the Neolithic, it is also a category that was expressed in a number of media. Moreover, the fact that Female bodies have been shaped in clay, but also in the harder materials (marble, other stone, bone) suggests that the qualities of the material did not deter the manufacturer from producing the specific gender image that he/she had in mind. It is true that as we have seen in Fig. 36, the medium used for the manufacture of figurines affected the method and the resulting visual effect, but did not discourage the craftsperson from seeking other techniques to express femaleness, achieved through incisions, carving or the use of colour. When we look at the more summary portrayals of the human body as represented by Female form and Asexual figurines, we do see an increase in their proportions for the harder materials than for clay. Again, I will point out, however, that both these categories are represented in the clay assemblage, which indicates a deliberate intention to give figurines that specific form even when the material does not challenge them (the producers) technically. For the further discussion of the more summary 'sex' categories, we should also relate it to the parameter of chronology. There is an overall pattern for increasing use of marble and stone from the LN onwards. Figure 39 shows that the increasing use of marble and stone from the LN onwards does not show an exclusion of Female representations. That to me suggests that it was not the hardness of the material that dictated the increase of more abstract human shapes. The increasing abstract variations, therefore, are not the result of material-related limitations from the LN onwards, but rather a deliberate intention to represent figurines with less obvious anatomical markers. The FN period, however, shows a drop in the representations of such anatomically abstract categories. Marble also seems to be the preferred material that replaced other stones at the end of the Neolithic.

As far as Male representations are concerned, they are only shaped in clay or marble with the majority being made of clay. Ambiguous figurines, on the other hand, are made only of clay and, as I have already discussed, they date to the earlier part of the Neolithic.

Conclusion: The use of material does not seem to have dictated the 'sex' category of the finished figurine. The choice of material, however, would have affected the visual effect and the technique in which the human body would have been rendered. Following from the idea that it is not the choice of material that dictated the 'sex' of the figurine, we should then view the increasing trend for more abstract human forms in the LN as a deliberate aim of the manufacturers to express the human body in a different way. Moreover, the fact that marble became more common towards the end of the Neolithic also implies that more care (and possibly value) was increasingly attached to the manufacture of figurines and their 'sexed' images. One could link this development to the newly inhabited Cyclades with their rich marble sources, but the majority of the figurines from Kephala are made of clay. The manufacture of marble figurines can also be taken to indicate a relatively more complex line of process (*chaine operatoire*) for the production of figurines. In addition, the fact that marble still continued to be a medium for the rendering of Female images suggests an overlap between the gender identity of those controlling the modelling of the figurines and the culturally acceptable thematic repertoire.

III f. Size in relation to 'sex' categories (app. E: Fig. 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47)

In this section I will relate the size of the figurines to other factors, when it is available. Figure 40 presents the available dimensions in ranges of 10cm as a way of grouping average size for the figurines in general, but also according to 'sex' category. The first table includes the size taken from the sample of complete or almost complete figurines, the second table of surviving torso and torso-upper lower body fragments, and the third of surviving lower bodies only. Figure 41 shows that over 60% of the figurines are of fairly small dimensions, ranging between 1-10cm, with about 10% ranging between 11-30cm. The preference for figurine dimensions between 1-10cm is also supported by the performed chi-square test which also confirms that not all size ranges were equally preferred (Fig. 42).

A similar tendency is also suggested by the second and third tables in Figure 40, although we could perhaps add a few centimetres. Even in that case, we can safely conclude that the majority of figurines ranged between 5-13cm. Just over 10% of the figurines range between 31-40cm, while a smaller proportion is represented by figurines between 50-60cm. Notably, figurines over 60cm are very rare.

There is a clear pattern, therefore, that shows a tendency for figurines to be of fairly small size with a few exceptions in the range between 50-60cm. The above results would suggest that the small size of the figurines indicates that they did not have a monumental character. Quite a few of the figurines were worn as amulets (indicated by perforations), which would explain their small size. Moreover, small-sized figurines also mean that they could have been objects used as personal possessions; they could easily be carried around in the 'pockets' or 'bags' of their owners as they went about their everyday chores between the house and the courtyard areas. They could also follow them into their seasonal camps or caves, as already discussed.

Figure 43 shows that Female figurines are present in all size ranges and that figurines of higher sizes ranging from 41 to over 60cm mainly portray female-related images (Probably Female and Female form inclusive) with Asexual figurines being the only other category. We can observe that Male figurines are absent from the last three highest size ranges which suggests that in the rare cases of large figurines, they mainly represent female bodies. Asexual figurines do not differ dramatically from the pattern we see for Female and Female-related categories, apart from the 71-80cm range where they seem to be absent. The only Ambiguous figurine measures in the lowest range. In addition, the ratios from the second and third table in Figure 40 suggest a similar pattern to that in Fig. 43 supporting the idea that Male figurines do not exceed the range between 30-40cm, unlike Female ones which, despite their fragmentary state, still rank in the three highest size brackets (Fig. 40, second and third table).

Figure 44 shows how figurines exceeding 20cm in height relate to the broad chronological and geographical context. In the table I have included complete, but also fragmented figurines, since even in that case a size exceeding twenty centimetres would also suggest a high stature. The results in Fig. 46 show that Crete had a tradition for larger figurines in

comparison to the rest of the Aegean. The fact that the Male and Female figurines over 20cm come from the same area indicates that there is no distinction, at least for Crete, between the size of Female and Male representations. In addition, larger figurines occur on Crete throughout the Neolithic, which suggests a distinct tradition in relation to the rest of the Aegean, especially in the EN phase. Regarding Thessaly, Macedonia, Euboia, Cyclades and the Peloponnese, there seems to be a trend for taller figurines from the MN onwards (as supported also by the results in Fig. 47) with a focus on Female and Asexual figurines. The fact that Male figurines in my data set are not of a larger size (with the exception of the one from Crete), could be interpreted as an increasing tendency for female images to become more obvious and prominent. In the case of Thessaly such specimens date to the EN and MN phases, while the remaining sample comes from mainly LN and FN contexts from Macedonia, the Peloponnese, Euboia and Cyclades. It would be reasonable to suggest that from the LN onwards there is a tendency for figurines to acquire a slightly different role from their earlier, smaller counterparts. Some of them would have become more difficult to carry around and for that reason they may have been designed to have a more static role and to take a more prominent place in the living areas.

The fact that Female form and Asexual categories produced more tall figurines than expected in relation to the number of sexed figurines (Fig. 45) indicates that Female figurines, despite their high production, do not demonstrate an emphasis on aspects that would increase their visibility over other types. In the case of Female form figurines, however, we may have to consider it as a largely Cretan phenomenon as indicated by the results in Figures 44 and 46.

IV. NEOLITHIC FIGURINES AND GENDER SYMBOLISM

IV a. Anatomical attributes and the representation of the sexed body (app. E: Fig. 48, 49)

In this section I will discuss the degree of variety and emphasis in which the physical body and selected anatomical attributes were modelled in the case of each 'sex' category and in relation to certain anatomical parts. The aim of this exercise is to reveal which aspects were selected as focal for the representation of sex and what that might imply about the notions related to gender in Neolithic Aegean society.

Figure 48 summarises the way in which anatomical parts were modelled, and the varying degree of attention paid to their modelling indicates the central role played by physical attributes in the way the manufacturer expressed gender identity in the shape of a figurine. Even the absence of a particular feature, such as breasts, was in itself meaningful, as it may have denoted maleness or an age-related stage in a woman's life. Furthermore, the varying degree of accentuation of anatomical parts is also a feature of significance as it expressed the intention of the manufacturer to convey the 'ideal' as it was constructed in his/her time.

Figure 49 presents the range in which selected parts of the anatomy were modelled according to each 'sex' category. The absence or presence of specific anatomical parts (already recognised at the level of identification of figurines according to the employed 'sex' categories in *Chapter Four*: *IV a*), but more importantly the accentuated or understated secondary 'sex'-related attributes (abdomen, hips and buttocks) can provide useful insights into the way Neolithic people moulded the human body at a symbolic level in relation to gender accepted behaviour and embodied practices.

Female figurines show a clear pattern that prominent breasts were placed on the body to mark the body as female, even if the pubic area is not modelled (for reasons that we will see later on). A small number of Female figurines, however, have been indicated through the demarcation of the pubic area, while breasts are absent. It would be reasonable to suggest here that these may be an expression of the prepubescent stage of life of a girl

before she would have been fully developed as a woman. The abdomen area is almost equally represented as flat or swollen, occasionally with incised flesh folds. I have been able to make a distinction between representations of swollen abdomen as a sign of obesity and those swellings that suggest pregnancy. A swollen abdomen could have expressed obesity or even the stage in a woman's life after pregnancies with flesh folds perhaps denoting stretch marks. In the case of figurines modelled as pregnant women, the swelling is modelled with a different kind of accentuation, while the presence of the navel is also another sign to stress the pregnant state. Navels, however, also occur on flat abdomens. Hips, in the case of Female figurines, are overwhelmingly accentuated, perhaps as a way of stressing women's child-bearing capacity. A number of Female figurines, however, were modelled with hips that were not accentuated, which would suggest that it was not always considered as a necessary feature of femaleness, especially when their female identity was communicated through the modelling of breasts and/or genitalia. Moreover, it is possible that buttocks were another part of the anatomy that has been included in the construction of gender-related figurines. Almost half the figurines have accentuated buttocks, while a third have been modelled with heavily accentuated buttocks, normally a sign of steatopygous figurines. When the buttocks are not modelled on Female figurines, they mainly belong to the typological category of figurines that are rendered schematically. Finally, as far as the pubic area is concerned, Female figurines are marked with the presence of an incised or painted pubic triangle. Occasionally the vulva has also been modelled either as part of the pubic triangle or pubic V, or even on its own. The point I would like to stress here is that even though the modelling of the pubic areas as a V was not originally taken as a definite sign of femaleness, as I progressed in the analysis of my material, I found that it coincided with figurines that followed general Female-related trends (Female, Probably Female, Female form categories). This correlation, but also the fact that the modelling of the penis was the norm for the representation of Male figurines, has led me to reach conclusions regarding the specific typology of Aegean Neolithic 'sexed' figurines (see also *Chapter Four*: *IV a*). This point demonstrates that figurines, as any category of artefact, need to be studied relationally to each other and in the typological context of the culture that has produced them.

Moving on to the category of Probably Female, I have included those figurines which tend to follow the typology for Female figurines, although the partial state of some of their

primary indicators (breast area, female genitalia) does not allow me to label them securely as Female, but also the presence of secondary indicators alone (pregnant abdomens, accentuated hips and buttocks) does not suffice for a secure identification (see also *Chapter Four*: *IV a*). Of those, it seems that only a small proportion is marked with breasts. The abdomen is predominantly represented as flat, although there are a number of Probably Female figurines with swollen, even pregnant, abdomens. The accentuated hips, one of the features taken to signify femaleness, are a common characteristic found on Probably Female figurines, even when breasts are not represented. We see a similar pattern for the accentuated and heavily accentuated buttocks, which again predominate in this category as with the Female category. Finally, the pubic area seems to be indicated only by the use of a marked V. Though on its own it may not have been taken to signify femaleness, the occurrence of the same method on securely characterised figurines suggests that they most likely represented female figurines. This category, therefore, with the same pattern for secondary accentuated anatomical attributes (such as hips and buttocks), as well as the way the pubic area is marked suggests that there is a strong likelihood that they too represented a female theme, even if the clear modelling of primary anatomical features (breasts and/or female genitalia) is absent or only suggested.

The next category is that of Female form figurines. Also the category of Probably Female form includes those figurines that suggest a similar typological form, but their fragmentary state does not allow me to securely place them under the category of Female form. As in the case of Probably Female figurines, the secondary indicators (mainly the accentuated hips and overall hourglass outline) suggest a female theme when the primary markers (breasts and female genitalia) are absent. In the case of Female form figurines we find that breasts are not modelled. They are normally represented with flat abdomens with very few cases of the swollen type. The narrow waist and wide hips are the main attribute, however, that strongly coincides with the pattern we see for Female figurines and which denotes the general hourglass outline of the anatomical female body. The buttocks are often not modelled, but I would explain that as a result of the fact that Female form figurines generally fall under the 'schematic' variations whereby the naturalism of the body is not expressed. As I have already argued, this category lacks primary 'sex' indicators, and that is why the pubic area is not modelled generally.

Looking at the anatomical attributes of Male and Probably Male figurines, we find that breasts are absent, as we would expect. The abdomen tends to be flat, and the hips and buttocks not accentuated, unlike the previous Female-related categories. There are the exceptions of Male figurines with accentuated hips and buttocks (which further justifies my caution not to term as clearly female figurines those specimens with an emphasis on their secondary indicators, i.e. accentuated hips and buttocks), which do not change nevertheless the norm and only refer to secondary attributes that can also be related to obesity in the case of male anatomical bodies.

The next category is that of Asexual and Probably Asexual figurines. Probably Asexual figurines are those that typologically would belong to the Asexual category, but their fragmentary state leaves open the possibility that they could have represented Female or Male figurines, since it is possible that the demarcation of only the upper or lower half may have been enough in some cases to denote their 'sex' (*contra* Ucko 1968 who did not distinguish between whole and fragmentary "asexual" pieces). As far as their anatomical indicators are concerned, Asexual figurines (hence the name!), but also Probably Asexual, lack modelled breasts and genitalia completely. The vast majority in both categories are represented with flat abdomens, non-accentuated hips and non-modelled buttocks. Even if we exclude Probably Asexual figurines, we find a category that in its majority has the body rendered in a schematic way, lacking sexual attributes, either as a way of expressing a summary human form or because the symbolic decoration stands for gender identity, as we will explore later on.

Finally, we come to the category of Ambiguous figurines, which consists of very few samples and which is primarily characterised by the simultaneous presence of two primary sexual attributes (breasts and male genitalia) or by the deliberate dual modelling of genitalia. In two of the cases (both from Thessaly), the figurines have accentuated hips, buttocks and a swollen-pregnant abdomen, even though the genitalia are male! It is a curious category of figurines that is very rare, although the specimens generally come from the areas of Macedonia, Thessaly, Boeotia and Crete, possibly a bias resulting from the large size of these samples. These figurines obviously did not express the norm, but they

will prove useful for our understanding of symbolism behind the notions of gender in the Neolithic Aegean.

Conclusion: The modelling of anatomical attributes played an important part in the conceptualisation of gender on one hand, and in the moulding and communication of gender-related ideas, on the other, through the manufacture of figurines. Furthermore, the way different body parts were emphasised, modelled or omitted according to each 'sex' category indicates the range that was preferred by Neolithic people to model the physical dimension of gender, but also the fuzzy typological zones that may, in fact, be an indication of gender-related sub-categorisation. An additional point that I would like to stress is that there is a deliberate intention of the manufacturer to mould (Female, Male categories) or exclude (Asexual, Probably Asexual categories) anatomical attributes. The Female-related categories, but also the Asexual categories, however, suggest to me that they should be seen as a way of representing different life stages of men or women because the overlap in secondary aspects such as decoration, or even posture (as I explain later on), would suggest that they were commonly understood by Neolithic people as gender signifiers. Another possibility is that Asexual or Female-related figurines were intended to represent the general human form in a summary way, with no attention paid to the anatomical details of the body, which may suggest a difference in use. The conclusion, however, is that the presence or absence of anatomical attributes, as well as the variation in which they were rendered, suggests that social categories seem to have been largely constructed around the perceptions of the physical body as an expression of gender identity and age.

IV b. Posture and the body as figurine language

➢ Range of postures presented by figurines (app. E: Fig. 50)

In this section I have grouped the postures of the figurines. I have listed them by the basic posture category (standing, seated, etc), followed by the position of the arms, hands and legs (see *Chapter Four*: *IV f*). Figure 50 shows in detail the grouped postures and the frequency in which they occur. The results are shown in groupings of separately studied

arm/hand and legs postures, since the high degree of variation and lack of standardisation throughout the Aegean Neolithic would not provide us with any meaningful patterns. There is a clear preference for standing figurines, followed by the seating, squatting and kneeling posture. They are also more rarely represented as sitting on stools or chairs. The arms and hands are used in the posture and they tend to rest on areas of the torso, such as the breasts, chest, abdomen and waist. Occasionally, they are active in holding objects onto the figurines. Worth mentioning are the five cases of the "kourotrophoi" which represent figurines engaged with children (in particular, carrying or holding a child or, in one case, children). Two figurines are also modelled in the birth-giving posture with the legs pulled up and the vulva exposed. Moreover, a few figurines suggest that their concave lap would have been used to rest small rounded objects or carry small quantities of liquid (termed as "bearers").

➢ **Posture variations in relation to geographical area** (app. E: Fig. 51)

Figure 51 reveals whether certain postures are related to a tradition of figurine-making that may have been linked to a particular area in the Aegean. The general standing posture seems to be present throughout the Aegean, apart from the Sporades. Seated figurines, on the other hand, are more common in Thessaly, Macedonia and the Peloponnese with interestingly low numbers for Crete. Figurines seated on chairs are only present in Thessaly (presenting an interesting case of a geographically-specific posture), while figurines seated on stools also come from areas outside Thessaly, such as Macedonia and one from the Peloponnese. Notably, figurines from the Central Mainland are not represented in that manner. The kneeling posture is not common at all, nor the reclining or birth-giving, the later being represented only by Thessalian specimens. Among postures relating to the arms and hands, the raised arms are a posture found mainly in Thessaly and Macedonia. Extended arms occur in most assemblages, while figurines with the hands on the breasts are in their vast majority found in Thessaly. The posture of hands that meet on the breast area are more widely spread and the same for hands that meet below the breasts or hands that meet on the chest. Very common postures throughout the Aegean are those where the hands rest on the abdomen or on the waist. Rare are figurines with the hands covering their pubic

area (only one each from Thessaly and Macedonia), while only two Male figurines are portrayed with their hands on their penis (Thessaly and the LN specimen from Kephala, Cyclades). Of the various leg positions, crossed legs seem to be more common in the later part of the Neolithic in the Cyclades, while figurines with their legs drawn up occur mainly in Thessaly. Figurines represented as bearing objects (perhaps baskets of some sort) are common in Thessaly and "kourotrophoi" seem to be more of a south-central tradition.

Conclusion: There seem to be great similarities between Thessalian and Macedonian traditions in the rendering of postures. In general most postures are present throughout the Aegean, with the notable exceptions of the concentration in Thessaly of seated figurines on chairs and birth-giving specimens, and the high number of Thessalian figurines with their hands on the breasts. Also a mainly Thessalian tradition is the posture of the legs drawn up and "bearing" figurines. Exceptional cases are the figurines with their hands on the pubic area and the "kourotrophoi".

➢ **Range of posture in relation to chronology and type of site** (app. E: Fig. 52)

Starting with the standing figurines, it seems that it was a common posture throughout the phases of the Neolithic and, as I have already argued, the use of the figurines in OS or CS had no bearing on the modelled posture. Standing figurines were also present in funerary contexts. The same is true for the seated figurines, while those seated on chairs and seated on stools have only been recovered from OS. Perhaps the more formal fittings contained in a house would have made figurines seated on miniature furniture more relevant in a settlement context. Representations of figurines seated on a stool seem more numerous for the late part of the Neolithic but that is affected by the high percentage of the LN Macedonian figurine assemblage. The kneeling posture, however, is limited only to Early specimens and only from OS. Squatting figurines are present throughout the Neolithic in OS and BS, but not in CS. Reclining figurines are dated to the phases before the LN and birth-giving figurines are also early in date. All the postures relating to the position of the arms and the hands are present throughout the Neolithic, while the type of the site does not seem to affect their modelling. A similar case is also true for the posture where the legs are

either crossed or drawn up. The notable cases of the "kourotrophoi" are present in the Early part of the Neolithic, but also in the Later part two of them are said to be contained in burials. Finally, the interesting cases representing Male figurines with their hand on their penis are both late in date, one of them from the cemetery of Kephala on Keos.

Conclusion: There does not seem to be a link between the type of site and the posture of the figurines. The figurines found in OS and CS are very similar, while those contained in BS do not present a posture that is exclusive to their funerary context. Of great interest, however, are the "kourotrophoi" figurines, the majority of which date to the LN phase, especially those that were part of a grave goods assemblage. Finally, figurines with their hand holding the penis may be an indication of more emphasis being placed on masculine identity towards the end of the Neolithic.

➢ Posture ranges in relation to 'sexed' figurines (app. E: Fig. 53)

Figure 53 shows that many of the basic postures are common for Female, Male and Asexual figurines. The ones that are of special interest are the following. The posture of hands resting on the breasts and breast area are almost exclusive to Female and Female-related figurines. Figurines with their hands below the breasts are exclusively Female. Figurines with their hands resting on the abdomen, on the other hand, despite their high predominance in the Female category, also belong to the Probably Female, Female form and Asexual ones. Furthermore, figurines with crossed legs are limited to Female and Probably Female figurines. The category of the bearer are both Female and Asexual, while interestingly the "kourotrophoi" are both Female-related with one being Asexual.

It seems, therefore, that despite some general postures being shared between the 'sex' categories, there was an overlap (as with decoration) between Female and Female-related categories which reinforces the original association. An overlap is also true between the Female figurines and Asexual ones that again could be interpreted as a symbolic expression of their gender identity. There are certain postures, however, that are exclusively related to representations of Female figurines and they are associated with the hands around the

breast area, as if to emphasise them on the body and draw the attention of the audience. The hands resting on the abdomen is another such posture that was aimed to have the same effect, in a similar way that the penis on Male figurines was emphasised with the hand holding it. Other postures, such as "seated on a chair" have a higher percentage being representing Male figurines, although more Female and Asexual figurines are represented as being seated on a stool. Postures, on the other hand, in which Male figurines are not represented, are kneeling, squatting, reclining, with the hands on and around the breast area, with the hands on the abdomen, with the legs crossed, drawn up, as a bearer and a "kourotrophos".

Conclusion: Apart from the use of decoration, posture also had a bearing in the way the gendered body was rendered. The postures given to figurines were the result of a thinking process that gave genders appropriate ways in which to hold themselves. Such postures were most likely related to life-activities or expected and accepted ways of social conduct. Moreover, the emphasis on certain parts of the anatomy indicates that the posture aimed to draw attention to the essential elements of one's gender identity. Interestingly, none of the "kourotrophoi" are Male which suggests a closer link between women and child rearing. Similarly, the posture in which the Female figurines are represented with the hands on the abdomen may be another indication that fertility played a major role in the structuring of female identity. Male figurines, many of which (at least in Thessaly) are represented as sitting on a chair may also suggest that men were not of the low rank that Mother-Goddess followers would have us believe on the basis that female "goddesses" were seated on their thrones. Even though Female and Asexual figurines are also modelled as seated, the high occurrence of such Male representations has implications for how we may interpret men's place in Neolithic society. The lived bodies and experiences of the prehistoric people, therefore, moulded and gave life to the bodies of the figurines in a way that was socially understood and accepted.

IV c. Decoration and its use

In this section I will discuss how decoration is related to Neolithic figurines in general, but with a focus on 'sexed' figurines in particular. By decoration, I should clarify that I refer to added painted, moulded or engraved features that altered the otherwise plain surface of the figurine. The primary aim of the association between decoration and the 'sex' categories is to explore the symbolism, but also embodiment, of gender as suggested by anthropomorphic figurines. A more detailed discussion of decorative motifs and their represented meaning in relation to gender follows in Section *IV d.*

➢ Decoration and figurines: some general comments (app. E: Fig. 54, 55, 58)

Of the total 1,093 figurines, 468 are decorated, while 625 are undecorated. Figure 54 shows that the percentage of undecorated figurines is higher than that for decorated by 14%. A considerable proportion (43%) of Neolithic figurines in the Aegean, therefore, was decorated. If we now analyse the proportion of decorated versus undecorated figurines by each area with a sizable sample, we see that in most cases undecorated figurines are more numerous than decorated ones (Fig. 55). The exceptions are the areas of Macedonia and the Peloponnese where decorated figurines exceed the proportion of undecorated ones. Turning now to the results shown in Fig. 56, the level of decoration shows a steady increase from the E to the L phase, with the L having the highest percentage of decorated figurines. From the Fn phase, however, there is a dramatic decrease in decoration. We need to approach the resulting patterns with some caution, since the general level of decoration for each region is affected to a certain degree by the excavated sample on one hand, and the recorded data on the other. To illustrate this point, I will refer to the case of Macedonia, the assemblage of which is decorated to a higher degree than other regions (around 60%, see Fig. 55), while at the same time the bulk of its sample coincides chronologically with the L phase (see Fig. 12 for the dating of the Macedonian assemblage), at the point when we find an overall increase of decorated figurines. While, therefore, for the Fn & F/EBA phase Thessaly, the Peloponnese and the Cyclades represent a proportion of decorated figurines roughly equal to their L counterparts, the fact that fewer Macedonian figurines have been recovered from Fn and Fn & E/EBA contexts must have affected the noted decrease of the level of decoration in general.

Conclusion: Macedonia and the Peloponnese show a preference for a higher level of decoration (almost 60%) in comparison to other areas of the Aegean. Thrace, Thessaly and Crete, have yielded a lower proportion of decorated figurines (around 30%), and even lower for the Central Mainland, the Cyclades and the general "South" category (around 20%). Euboia does not show any preference for decoration, while the assemblages from the Sporades, E. Aegean and the Dodecanese are too small for us to draw any meaningful conclusions.

➢ **Use of material and degree of decoration** (app. E: Fig. 57)

In Fig. 57 we can see that regardless of the material, the majority of the figurines are not decorated, as we have already established in the earlier section. The relative proportion of clay decorated figurines, however, is higher than for any of the other materials. Marble, stone, and even bone, are comparable with each other and they demonstrate a much higher bias towards undecorated figurines than their clay counterparts. Unlike the intention to denote the 'sex' of the figurine in relation to the use of material, decoration seems to be greatly dependent on the nature and quality of the chosen material. Clay, being more malleable and soft, would have allowed more freedom to decorate figurines in a plastic or incised way. However, I should stress at this point that, information we have regarding marble Cycladic figurines in the EBA period, indicate that marble and stone surfaces of figurines would have very often been painted with bright colours which do not survive today. In the case of the stone and marble figurines of the Neolithic, they too may have been painted as a way of accentuating certain features in order to communicate symbolic messages.

➢ **Surface treatment of figurines according to 'sex' category** (app. E: Fig. 58)

The methods of surface treatment for the Neolithic Aegean figurines are burnishing and slip/paint. Under slip/paint I have included figurines with an applied slip, but also those

which have been described as painted, since there does not seem to be a unanimous descriptive code in the publications that differentiates between the two. In addition, category slip/paint applies only to those figurines with a colour-treated surface onto which motifs may or may have not been applied, as opposed to those that are analysed later with a focus on their specific motifs. I discuss the subject of surface treatment because the employment of some of these methods would aim to further improve the quality of the figurine, its durability and its visual appearance, which indicates that there was an intention of the part of the producer to elaborate technically and visually the finished product. Following on from that, I would argue that the more care and labour was invested on the production of a figurine, the more likely it would have been perceived as a prized possession of personal and social significance.

If we now relate the methods or frequency of surface treatment to the 'sex' categories (Fig. 58), we can explore whether more labour and time was invested on any particular type of 'sexed' figurine. Unfortunately, the number of figurines with any traces of surface treatment is very low and this does not aid us in drawing general conclusions. It seems that the numbers in the table, more or less, reflect the general proportion of the 'sex' categories in the original assemblage. What is meaningful, however, is that Male and Asexual figurines are present in the sample, which does not support the idea that only Female figurines received such care during the process of their manufacture.

Conclusion: The methods employed for the treatment of the figurine surface seem to be similar to those employed for the production of ceramics in the Aegean at that time. Ethnographic studies point to women as the main gender behind pottery production (Berns 1993, 136; Murdock 1973, 207), though problems inherent in such ethnographic models should alert us against oversimplifying the link between figurine-making and pottery. The subject of figurines and gender attribution is one that requires a careful approach and is further explored in *Chapter 7*.

IV d. Use of colour and decorative motifs: symbolism and gender implications

➢ Decoration in relation to 'sex' categories (app. E: Fig. 59, 60, 61)

Under the term decoration I include the use of specific motifs and the application of colour on the surface of the figurine. I exclude, however, the modelling of headdresses or hairstyles, which will be discussed at a later point separately. Figure 59 presents the data numerically and Fig. 60 shows what percentage of decorated figurines is represented by each 'sex' category. Figure 61 presents the results of a chi-square test which reveal a significant association between sex categories and decoration which would suggest that decoration was a common method of marking and distinguishing figurines through the use of motifs on the basis of the sex they represented.

Decoration, even on Asexual figurines, would aim at communicating symbolic ideas regarding ideology, gender and status that would have been shared and understood in the social audience of Neolithic Aegean society. Finally, the differences in the proportion of decorated figurines per sex category seem to suggest real differences in the labour and care invested for the production of these figurines depending on their represented sex. On Female-related and Asexual figurines, decoration would have been employed as a way of expressing the gender and symbolic identity of a seemingly 'neutral' surface. As we have seen above, however, and, as I discuss later on, the use of colour and specific motifs were aspects of decoration that indicate an overlap with the gender symbolism expressed mainly by Female figurines.

➢ Use of colour according to 'sex' categories (app. E: Fig. 62, 63)

Figure 62 shows that the main colours were red, black and white with some variations. Some interesting suggestions can be made on the basis of the available information. Noticeable is the lack of any of the colours being used as motifs on any of the Male or Probably Male figurines. Colours seem to be concentrated and shared among the Female

and Female-related figurines, as well as the Asexual, Probably Asexual and one Ambiguous figurine. A brief look shows that the colour most commonly used for motifs is black, then red, followed by white. The fact that the same colours are shared between general Female and Female-related categories could be taken to further support the link between Female and more abstract representations of the female body. Moreover, the link between the Female and Female-related categories and Asexual ones can also be an indication that in fact Asexual figurines were intended to communicate their 'sex' through the media of decorative motifs and use of colour, a suggestion that is explored further in the following section. A similar argument can also be put forward for the Ambiguous figurine.

Figure 63 presents the use of colour as overall paint or slip on the figurines according to their 'sex' category. Again, apart from the one Male figurine, the majority of cases are represented by Female, Female-related and Asexual types. The most commonly used colours are black and red, followed by white and its variations, as has been the case for colours used for the demarcation of motifs. The patterns of shared surface colour between Female and Asexual type figurines, again draw a link between them as notionally related 'sex' categories, linked together through secondary characteristics.

Conclusion: Paint used either for the motifs or the whole surface of the figurines was aimed at highlighting literally and metaphorically selected parts of the anatomy, but also the motif that was symbolically loaded. The use of colour would give figurines a striking, vivid appearance that would attract the attention of Neolithic people in the context in which they were used. As I have already argued, the employment of colour and the application of slip on figurines further supports the idea that their manufacturers were familiar with the techniques of making and decorating pottery, which has important implications for the understanding of their manufacture. Furthermore, the fact that the use of colour is shared by Female, Female-related, Asexual and even Ambiguous figurines would suggest a semantic overlap in the 'sex' they were intended to represent.

➢ **Use of colour in relation to decorated features, chronology and 'sex' categories** (app. E: Fig. 64, 65, 66)

For the purposes of detecting changes throughout the Neolithic, I will present the patterns that emerge from the correlation between colour, application on body parts, but also chronology. Starting with Fig. 64, the chi-square test, that was performed in order to explore whether decoration stayed the same throughout the Neolithic, has revealed that not all phases have produced the same proportion of decorated figurines and that decoration was more prevalent in the Late phase.

In Fig. 65, I have summarised the colours that have survived on figurines in the form of motifs (compare with Fig. 63 for surface paint) and the broad chronological phases that they are dated to. Figure 65 indicates that a more complex colour scheme emerges in the L phase in terms of the combinations used, in comparison to the earlier two phases. In the Fn period, while red is not included, new colours emerge, such as green and blue which can be indicative of further changes in the realm of social cosmology and symbolisms. Following on from that, the introduction of new colours coincides with new modes of self-categorisation and identification of new emerging identities and forms of material culture (Chapman 2002, 52-3).

In Fig. 66, I have presented how colour has been used in association with specific anatomical parts and in relation to the 'sex' categories according to each chronological broad phase. I have chosen to focus my analysis on those body parts only that I consider as being more likely to have expressed gender symbolisms, such as the chest, breasts and breast area, the abdomen, pubic area and buttocks. On the basis of the selected body parts, therefore, the results show that the degree of complexity noted above matches the chronological picture for the use of colour and the emphasis it paid on anatomical parts. In the E, but mainly, M phases, when colour is applied on body parts related to reproduction or sexuality, it is restricted mainly to Female or Female-related types (Probably Female). Red was used to emphasise the breasts and the pubic area, while black was applied on the abdomen and pubic area. White seems to have been restricted to the pubic area. Note also, that no Male figurines are present in the sample.

In the L phase, not only are figurines with emphasised sexual and reproduction-related parts more common, but also new colour combinations are introduced (red on white) and, in the case of white, its use becomes much more prolific. As with the two earlier periods, Female figurines are by far the predominant category, followed by few Female-related (Probably Female, Female form) specimens and one Asexual, which can be taken to further indicate a symbolic overlap with Female figurines. Moreover, there seems to be an increasing importance of the abdomen and chest area, as opposed to the earlier phases when more emphasis was paid to the pubic region. Moving to the Fn period, the new colours blue (not included in Fig. 66 because it marked the shoulder of a Female figurine) and green are introduced, and while the use of some of the basic colours still continue (see Fig. 65), there seems to be less emphasis on sexual and reproduction-related anatomical parts, although the results may have been affected by the smaller size of the sample and the increasing use of less porous materials (marble and stone, as opposed to clay), thus lowering the survivability of pigment on the figurine surface.

Conclusion: The use of colour and colour combinations across the Neolithic period in the Aegean, suggest that a higher degree of social and symbolic complexity operated from the L phase onwards, continuing into the Fn part. Following Chapman's (2002, 52-3) argument, we should view these changes as indicative of a higher degree of social complexity in relation to personal and social identification in a context in which new material and symbolic forms were emerging. As far as the employment of colour is concerned in relation to sexual and reproduction-related organs, its increased use in the later part of the Neolithic suggests that it became much more important for Female figurines to be distinguished, but also that the level of gender symbolism became more complex with the introduction of new colours and combinations.

- **Decorative repertoire, decoded meanings and implications for gender construction** (app. D; app. E: Fig. 67, 68)

In this section I will concentrate on the decorative repertoire that occurs on Neolithic figurines in the Aegean. *Appendix D* summarises the decoded motifs that I have grouped

and categorised on the basis of their representative theme and occurrence on specific parts of the body. It is a uniform catalogue that applies to both the Neolithic and EBA assemblages. I should point out, however, that the catalogue also includes plastic, painted and incised variations on headdress and hairstyles. The use of the word 'decoration' would suggest that the figurines were improved aesthetically; though, I believe that most of the motifs were used to enhance the appearance of the figurines, they also expressed the physical appearance of gendered bodies, be it manipulation of the body (tattooing, body painting or piercing) or worn garments and jewellery. The meaning of decorative motifs, however, which adorn the body and face of the figurines is not self-evident and requires further analysis in order to establish what they represent and symbolise. Even though both additional plastic modelling and decorative motifs indicate gender identity, they nevertheless need a different approach that will allow me to deconstruct the meanings of the often-repeated signs added to the body of these figurines. Following the perspective of semiotics, the symbols applied to the bodies of these figurines may seem 'decorative' to people living today, but in the past they were communicated to the audience that produced them in an effortless way. The systematisation of these signs (see also *Chapter Four*: *IV b*), therefore, combined with our common experiences of embodiment can offer us an insight into the meaning of these motifs and their implications for gender construction through the manipulation of appearance.

Figure 67 presents categories that the motifs were used to express (the sign '+' suggests the variations of the same motif). Decoration seems to have been used to indicate forms of bodily adornment in the form of body painting, scarring or tattooing. The first list on the table includes the motifs that I consider as belonging to that category. The second column presents the motifs that I suggest were used to symbolise garments, fabric and other worn accessories, such as belts. The third category includes those motifs that could be interpreted as either body decoration or as clothing. Finally, the last column includes the motifs that seem to have been used to represent jewellery. Motifs, therefore, did not only symbolise decoration on the body (ideologically symbolic or actual, as it appeared on the bodies of Neolithic people), but also denoted garments and jewellery worn on the bodies of these prehistoric people.

Figure 68 shows the motifs, as well as headdress and hairstyles that are found on more than one figurine (see column "Frequency"). It also gives information about the part of the body on which the motifs occur, the colour that may have been used and the method in which the decoration was applied. A summary of the thematic repertoire shows that the most common motifs represented the following categories: 'belts' adorning the hips and waist, decoration on the body, clothing and fabrics. Similarities are also found in the way the headdress and hairstyles are rendered. Figure 66 also shows how these motifs relate to the 'sex' categories of the figurines.

A number of motifs were exclusively used on the bodies of Female figurines and were used to highlight parts of the female anatomy, such as breasts, as with motifs ch2+ and ch4. In addition, pubic triangles would often be painted and highlighted as a way of placing emphasis on that part of the human anatomy (pa10, pa11, pa19, pa8, pa9). A motif of the same category is that of a spiral variation found on the abdomen of three Female figurines (s1+), perhaps related to the idea of fertility. Other motifs represented body painting or tattooing on Female bodies, as in the case of ch17+ and dpl21 concentrating on the legs. Of great interest is the motif in the form of a cluster of dots which is exclusively related to Female figurines (also one Probably Female) and which concentrates mainly on the shoulders. The punctured way in which it has been marked could be indicative of tattooing (paint was also used on the figurines) or scarring. These motifs could have been applied on female bodies in relation to life-stages or rites of passage. A similar argument could also be made for cpl5+. Motifs pu15+ and pu16+ also most probably indicate tattooing (infilled with paint) or scarring, but seem to indicate a painted decorative motif, rather than a way to demarcate one part of the body from the rest. Other motifs may have been intended to mark parts of the body that were cured, treated or scarred, as in the case of spl15 and spl16 found on the abdomen area of two Female figurines. Another group of motifs denoted jewellery worn by Female figurines, as in the case of d1+ and d9. Accessories related to dress and worn on the body in the form of 'belts' are suggested by motifs dil1 and dil9i, although dil1 could also be interpreted as body painting. Other motifs suggest brace-like bands that may have been worn on the torso and may have been attached to the garment worn on the lower body (vpl8+). Woven garments of a particular type worn on the upper half of female bodies are expressed by motifs dil2, dil3, dil4, dil5 and hpl2+. Suggested trouser-like dress with multiple fabric folds is represented by motif drl1+. A different style of garments is

represented by motifs rm4+, pu24, s6+ and rs4. Regarding hairstyles, Female figurines are represented with longer (fhd34, vpl11+) or shorter locks of hair (fhd35) or with it pulled up at the base of the neck (fhd36). Caps were also worn by Female figurines (hd4, hd7+). Unfortunately, due to the fragmented state of the rest of the figurines on which the same styles of hair and headdress are represented, we cannot draw further conclusions about the other 'sex' categories.

A number of motifs are shared between Female and Female-related figurines which is a further proof of their overlap, beyond the summary outline of the anatomical female body. Motifs rd1+ and rm9 suggest body painting on the legs, perhaps even rings worn around the legs when they are represented near the ankles (rd1ii, rd1iv, rs2). Also the spiral motif, which we have seen is exclusively found on Female abdomens, can also occur on the buttocks of Female-related figurines (s2+). A spiral-like motif (s5), representing most likely body painting around breasts, is again common between one Female and one Probably Female figurine. Vpl14+ can also be interpreted as body painting or tattooing decorating the sides of the torso on two Probably Female figurines. Other motifs, such as sch4+ and sch5+, most probably represent multiple strings of necklaces worn around the neck and covering the breasts, or could alternatively be interpreted as textile depictions. The other category of shared motifs represents garments and textile patterns, as is the case of vpl12+ and vpl13+. An interesting piece of dress in many variations and which is found only on Female and Probably Female figurines is a type of wide 'belt' from which strings or ribbons hang and cover the hips and upper legs (vpl-hb4+, vpl-hb2, vpl-hb3).

Some motifs have been found only on Asexual figurines. Three of them are ch8+, ch9+ and ch10+, which most probably represented worn garments. A point worth exploring, therefore, is whether some of the Asexual figurines from the mainland actually represented clothed bodies and that is why their anatomical attributes are not modelled. In one case, however, a Female figurine is represented as wearing a similar garment, but that could be the result of a deliberate need to denote the gender of the figurine. Other motifs may be representing either body decoration or part of a garment (buttons?), as is the case with pu1ii and iii. A motif most probably representing body painting or scarring is vpl1 on the chests of Asexual figurines which is similar to vpl4+ found on Female-related and Asexual categories.

An interesting conclusion resulting from the analysis of decoration is that many motifs were shared between Female and Female-related categories and Asexual figurines which may indicate that rather than being 'neutral', their identity was marked in a symbolic way. The symbol of the cross (c1+), found on both categories, is one of these symbolic motifs that could either represent the breast area, or a motif woven or painted on a worn garment. Some motifs can be interpreted as either related to dress or body decoration as in the case of dpl22+, hpl1+, hpl22, s8+, vpl16+, vpl18+, vpl19, z1+, z2, z3+, z5, and dpl1+, with the last interestingly suggesting an association of the use of red paint at least for the Female specimens. A similar argument can also be said for motifs chl1+, dpl23+, z4 or hpl16+ which represented the lower half of a worn garment. The fact that these types of dress are not found on Male figurines would suggest that (at least some) Asexual and Probably Female figurines coincide with Female ones, the dress of which communicated their identity without the need to add anatomical attributes. The same is also true for cpl1+, dpl8+ and vpl4+ which most likely represented the upper half of a garment worn by Female and Female-related categories and Asexual figurines. Another motif representing a garment is hpl6, rs5, vrl1+ with vpl7+ being the most frequently shared motif suggesting a long cape-like colourful garment. Another very common representation is that of necklaces or 'ribbons' worn around the neck of Female and Asexual categories (rs1+, rd2+, rm2, rm3, rm5+, sch2+), though is also possible that they could be representing body painting. Another motif that is common between Female categories and Asexual figurines represented bracelets (rs3+, rm7). Other shared motifs most likely represented body decoration (painted or tattooed) as suggested by d2, d3, d8, pu13+, pu14+. Some of the motifs could be taken to indicate the demarcation of one part of the body as a symbolic marker, as in the case of spl1+ and spl21 found on upper arms of figurines which could be interpreted as tattoos or scaring. Other motifs may have been intended to mark cured or parts of the body under strain, as in the case of spl14, which marks the knee or the chest area on two figurines.

Other motifs are found on all categories and they could be explained as marks on the body that may have symbolised scarring, wounds or ritual markings. One of them is the symbol of the single cross (c4), which in all cases is found on the abdomen. As far as worn accessories are concerned, we can start with the represented 'belts' worn around the waist and hips. We find that the simplest styles also adorned Male figurines (b4vi). Most of the

figurines wearing these 'belts', however, belong to the Female type (hsl2+) and Asexual. The more elaborate versions of these belts decorated Female-related categories and Asexual figurines (b12+, b14+). A very common motif and its variations represent necklaces or amulets worn around the necks of these figurines and are common in all categories with a bias towards the Female-related categories (sch1+, sch3).

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the above observations. The first is that decoration was employed as a meaningful way of communicating gender and social identity to the Neolithic audience. Apart from the obvious modelling of anatomical attributes, decoration employed to represent corporeal manipulation (body painting or tattooing) or dress and jewellery was loaded with markers which may have denoted the gender, life stage, social, even cultural group identity of the manufacturer and user, since we know that figurines were occasionally found outside their area of production. Motifs which seem to suggest that they may have marked specific body parts, as if they indicated areas under strain or that have undergone treatment [small tattooed motifs were interpreted as marks of treated parts on the Iceman's body, (Spindler 1994)], could indicate that an element of self-projection must have been part of the manufacture and use of figurines. The insight that such information allows into the aspect of gender is that layers of complex meaning were woven into the construction of gender identity through the manipulation of the physical appearance of the body (tattooing, painting, scarring, piercing of the ears, hair-style) and the added display of attire (garments, related fittings, textile patterns, headdress and jewellery). The fact that most of the figurines that bear such motifs are Female would indicate that the female identity was subject to such corporeal manipulations through the modelling of the physical appearance or the adoption of the expected 'uniform'.

Male figurines, on the other hand, despite a proportion of over 50% being decorated (Fig. 60), do not display the same complexity of adornment in the form of decoration on the body or attire. Perhaps male identity was not so dependent on the alteration and manipulation of physical appearance. In addition, the overlap in the preferred motifs between Female and Female-related categories offers more support to my original suggestion that the later represented female bodies in a summary, abstract way. Even if the anatomical attributes were not modelled, denoting the body decoration or the dress would have been enough for the Neolithic audience to perceive them as female. The same is also

indicated for the Asexual figurines. The fact that so many of them show a symbolic overlap in the use of motifs supports the idea that they too (or at least some of them) were loaded with symbolic 'femaleness', or perhaps expressed life-stages in a woman's life before puberty or during menopause. The only overlap between all 'sex' categories concentrates on representations of more 'neutral' fittings, such as plain belts, simple amulets or healing (?) scars, which fits with the argument that suggests a more complex female appearance. Relating the information to chronology, the fact that only 16% of the figurines dating to the FN are decorated could be interpreted as representing a phase in which gender identity was less dependent on multiple ways of altering appearance, at the same time as Male figurines also become more common. The alternative implication is that perhaps figurines shift from being self-projecting to being more ideologically 'neutral' as there is also a shift in their context of use.

Conclusion: The results have allowed us to see the actual people that figurines represented and were produced by. Anthropomorphic representations of the Neolithic Aegean were grounded in conceptions and living experiences of those who moulded them. The embodiment of gender was reflected onto figurines, but also perpetuated and communicated the rules by which young members of the society would have been conditioned. The element of the 'ideal' expectations, however, cannot be ignored as a parameter that would have affected the finished product, but that is also a valuable piece of information in the understanding of figurines.

- **Decoration as meaningful symbolism in relation to 'sex' categories, broad chronology and region** (app. E: Fig. 69, 70, 71, 72)

Figure 69 shows the motifs that have been identified in the earlier section according to the representative symbolism (see Fig. 66) with the 'sex' categories that they decorate, as well as the broad chronology and region that these figurines are attributed to. The reason behind this correlation is to establish whether we can detect changes and differences in the representation of gendered images through the analysis of decorative motifs across time and

space. Note, however, that not all motifs appear in Fig. 69, since some of them decorated EBA figurines.

Starting with the category of 'body decoration', we find that for all body parts, Female figurines are by far the most common type that bear such attributes. Only one Male figurine was modelled with body decoration on the abdomen, as well as some Asexual specimens. As far as chronology is concerned, there is a clear preference for body decoration in the later part of the Neolithic (see Fig. 70). The geographical pattern suggests that body decoration motifs were not an Aegean-wide tradition, as suggested by the fact that regions such as Euboia and the Cyclades are not represented in the sample.

The vast majority of motifs denoting clothing and general attire are dated to the later phases (see Fig. 71) and show a similar geographical pattern to the earlier periods, though there is a clear preference for such decoration in the region of Macedonia in the Late period. The represented 'sex' of the figurines is again in most cases that of Female and Female-related types, although a number of Asexual specimens are also included. The fact that Male and Ambiguous figurines are not represented in the samples indicates that attire motifs did not mark all sex categories equally. Furthermore, the sharing of motifs between Female, Female-related and Asexual figurines suggests on one hand a symbolic overlap, but also indicates that the reason some of the figurines were modeled as Asexual was the result of the manufacturer's intention to model them as clothed, thus concealing their anatomical attributes. Note also that no Male figurines are included in this group. Motifs that can be interpreted as entire body decoration or clothing are far more numerous in the later periods (L and Fn) with the majority decorating Female figurines and with a slight difference in geographical distribution in comparison to the earlier phases (E and M).

Finally, figurines decorated with motifs representing jewellery, were mainly dated to the later part of the Neolithic (see Fig. 72) and show a much wider geographical distribution than for the earlier phases. Even though Asexual figurines are included in a considerable proportion, the main category bearing such motifs was that of Female and Female-related types and the absence of Male and Ambiguous specimens indicates that jewellery motifs were not applied equally on all sex categories.

Conclusion: The use of motifs indicates a higher degree of elaboration of figurines themselves on one level, and a more intricate way in which gender identity was demarcated on the body and communicated through added insignia in the later part of the Neolithic. Such increasing elaboration of social identity and the emphasis placed on the modification of female appearance (as suggested by the majority of Female and Female-related decorated figurines) can also be taken to indicate a higher degree of polarisation between genders in the need of the community to attribute specific social and economic roles, but also an increasing complexity in the way Aegean society was organised towards the later part of the Neolithic.

V. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The analysis of the sample has revealed some very interesting aspects regarding the production, meaning and use of figurines. As far as their representational qualities are concerned, the study of the corpus has shown that a determining factor in the production of these figurines was anatomy and its representation. The clear presence of anatomical attributes related to female and male bodies, as well as postural emphasis placed on reproduction-related anatomical parts highlight the importance that the physical body played in the representational repertoire and hence gender construction. Furthermore, the fact that in addition to anatomy, selected decorative motifs and posture correlated to a particular 'sex' category is testimony to the craftsperson's intention to represent deliberately bodies with a marked sex/gender identity. As is known from ethnography, in the vast majority of cases, gender is constructed on the basis of biological differences and that is why the highly differentiated bodies of these figurines indicate that the physical body was the structuring agent for gender identities also in Neolithic Aegean society. Female identity was emphasised through the accentuation of reproduction-related body parts and the rendering of the birth-giving posture show a link between femaleness and biological fertility, even child-rearing as in the case of the "kourotrophoi", none of which are Male. A similar link can also be made for the few Male figurines that are represented, with attention being drawn to their genitalia, but also important are the clay-modelled phalloi found in living spaces. The aspects related to the biological and physical anatomy, but also the age-related life-stages were, therefore, central for the construction of gender roles.

The employment of decoration has revealed that another layer of meaning also played an equally important role. The motifs represented body decoration and attire appropriate for each gender. The physical body, therefore, in the form of temporary marking as with body painting, or permanent manipulation through tattooing, scarring and piercing, as well as the styling of hair constructed the gender identity of the individual in Neolithic society. The added layers of garments, accessories and jewellery further communicated the gender, but also the social status of prehistoric people in the Aegean. It is such added symbolic meanings and their overlap that drew the link between Female and Asexual or Female-resembling categories. Moreover, figurines suggest an elaborate external appearance of female bodies in contrast to male ones. Costume and body decoration were a lot more important for the construction of female identities than for male ones. The decorative motifs, the colours and the patterns represented on figurines should encourage us to imagine prehistoric women dressed in strikingly colourful woven garments. When the motifs have been interpreted as body decoration, we should again envisage female bodies covered in impressive intricate patterns. Such body decoration would have been important to denote not only the gender, but also the stage in a woman's life and her status. What Male figurines suggest, on the other hand, is that men also must have worn certain types of accessories, but their limited range and their simple style does not indicate the same multi-layered structure of gender identity as for women.

Another aspect of embodiment was the employment of posture. The fact that certain postures are related to specific 'sex' categories is in itself meaningful. Female figurines often stand in a way that draws attention to their breasts or abdomen, unlike their Male counterparts. The birth-giving posture is self-evidently an aspect of the human body that was of importance to the Neolithic audience. Female figurines are represented as seated, but so are Male ones, which always are seated on some kind of chair. The seated Female figurines have been used widely among Mother-Goddess supporters to enforce the idea that they represented enthroned divinities. The Male seated figurines, therefore, are evidence to argue against the supremacy of women over men in Neolithic society. On the contrary, the few such Male figurines that are represented in the sample may be indications that men were equally important and present in the domestic, living context as women.

Anthropomorphic figurines were an integral part of society in the Aegean throughout the Neolithic period. There is no indication that figurines stopped being produced or circulating at any point in the Neolithic. Moreover, there is a strong link between their use and the living spaces of Neolithic settlements. They accompanied their owners in their everyday activities, as suggested by their contextual associations. Their presence in habitational contexts, however, does not detract from the idea that they represented symbolism related to spirituality and ideology. The modelling of figurines with animal features further suggests their symbolic meaning and Neolithic ideas behind humanity and the power of nature and its creatures. They may not have symbolised divinities, but as has already been suggested by Ucko (1968), they may have accompanied their owners as protective guardians or spirits. That would explain why they represent bodies at different life-stages. They may have been modelled in a self-projecting way in order to mark a new phase of life and the figurines carried with them a symbolic good luck that guarded the user against evil and danger. Such cases could be represented by the pregnant figurines, especially if we consider the risks that a woman would have been exposed to during that time in her life. As I have already argued, I believe that some of the figurines were marked with 'healing' tattoos or scars which also supports the idea that figurines would have embodied the wishes for recovery and good luck for the person using them. Alternatively, figurines may have been part of ceremonies or rituals in which they would have acquired special powers that would accompany their owners in their everyday lives.

It is not until the end of the Neolithic (except EN), however, that the evidence shows that figurines start to be used systematically in cemeteries. This emerging trend indicates that at the same time that figurines continued to be used in settlements, they also acquired an added new meaning. Their use in funerary contexts shows that a supplementary dimension of symbolism was also active at the end of the Neolithic or that personal identity survived in death. Perhaps, rather than carrying self-projecting wishes and hopes for their users, they became more open to spiritual meaning that transcended strictly personal identities. Such an ideological shift (also suggested by the absence of FN zoomorphic figurines) could be the belief in an after-life and this is where figurines would have played a different role. If figurines at the end of the Neolithic became interwoven with a change in ideology, then the after-life would be an aspect as relevant for women as for men. The fact, however, that Female figurines still dominated the assemblage in the FN indicates that, as self-projecting

symbolic material culture, the closer identification between women and figurines continued throughout the Neolithic. The low proportion of Male figurines would point to a lower level of men's active engagement in the perpetuation of an ideological system. It would be reasonable to argue, therefore, that figurine production was an arena primarily controlled by women and mainly relevant to women, and that is how we can explain the high number of female representations in the Neolithic of the Aegean. That, however, is far from the assumption that Neolithic society was matrifocal or characterised by female supremacy over men. We must not also forget that figurine production would have also been relevant to men, since figurines would have ensured prosperity and good fortune for the community as a whole. With the end of the Neolithic, however, the synchronous use of figurines in settlements and cemeteries can be interpreted as representing two different arenas in which figurines communicated and symbolised different ideas. It is the beginning of a new trend that marks the shift in use evident in the following EBA period.

Chapter 6

EARLY BRONZE AGE ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINES: PRESENTATION OF DATA AND ANALYSIS RESULTS

I. SOME INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

I a. EBA figurines: evidential constraints and strategies for analysis

The main point affecting my analytical strategy regards the issue of authenticity and safe provenance of EC figurines, an issue of very little concern for the recording of Neolithic figurines. In order to protect the sample from pieces of dubious originality, I have chosen to be selective with my recording strategy (see also *Chapter 4*: *I* for a more detailed discussion), especially as the recovery of a considerable number of EBA figurines was a result of looting activities. Moreover, they are known to have been forged in considerable numbers from the 1950s onwards (Gill & Chippindale 1995, 132). Though there is a known corpus of 1,600 EC figurines (Gill & Chippindale 1995, 132), as a result of the precautions that I have taken in my strategy of recording, the sample included in my database represents almost 1/6 of that sum, amounting thus to 253 EC figurines (excavated and 'surfaced' before the year 1900). Finally, as a result of looting, figurines that have 'surfaced' before 1900 from burial sites and which have been included in my sample lack the detailed contextual information that has been available from the controlled excavated sites of the Neolithic.

Another point related to the context of EBA figurines is that the vast majority have been recovered from burial contexts which is why a separate section (Part *IV*) will be devoted to the discussion of the mortuary record in relation to gender and the figurines themselves,

missing from the previous chapter on the Neolithic. The patterns related to the deposition and circulation of figurines, therefore, call for a slightly modified approach which I have otherwise strived to keep uniform for both sets of data. When necessary in this chapter, I will pull out obvious differences between the two data sets which will become focal in the comparative discussion of the following chapter (*Chapter 7*: *A*).

I b. EBA figurine typology and its employment in my analysis (Appendix F: Fig. 1, 2)

Unlike the situation for Neolithic figurines, more studies have been devoted to the establishment of concrete typological schemata for EBA figurines, more specifically of the Cycladic (Fitton 1989; Renfrew 1969, 1991) (see app. F: Fig. 1) and Cretan (Branigan 1971; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1983) tradition (see app. F: Fig. 2) and have since influenced the field of EBA Aegean figurine studies. Such typological lines attempted to create a neat evolutionary pattern which would explain the development of figurine forms in the EBA Aegean and would place them in a given chronological frame and in the sphere of a specific regional tradition. Concerns have been raised regarding the degree to which Renfrew's (1969) typology of EC figurines was based on sound evidence and correct assumptions regarding the distribution of specific types (Broodbank 1992, 545; Gill & Chippindale 1993, 627-8). Despite the problems inherent in the development of any artefact typologies, the terminologies used to describe specific types of figurines are still widely used in Aegean prehistory and often stand as short-hand categorising references (such as *violin* figurines, or of the *Spedos* or *Chalandriani* type among many others).

I have also developed a body typology for the purposes of gender archaeology (see *Chapter 4*: *IV e*). I also make sporadic references to the established typological types which mainly serve here as monolectic references to specifically-shaped figurines, following the conventions that prevail in EBA Aegean figurine studies. In the section, however, where I discuss the chronological aspects of figurines in relation to other variables, when the contextual information does not aid their dating, I give a suggested date on the basis of the typological schemata in the absence of any other evidence. References to conventional

typological types, therefore, serve only as auxiliary terms, when needed, and with a degree of caution (*suggested*, as opposed to *definite* chronology and provenance). Though the subject of EBA Aegean figurine typologies deserves a further systematic study and revision, it is nevertheless a topic which is peripheral to my research and not discussed in any great detail in the sections that follow.

II. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE RECORDED SAMPLE

II a. Quantity of the recorded data (app. G: Fig. 1)

Though the number of Neolithic figurines exceeds that of the EBA period (1,094 as opposed to 567), a closer look at the results in relation to the number of excavated sites is necessary. We need to bear in mind that the recorded sample of the EBA period has been affected by my decision to exclude the vast majority of known EC figurines on the basis of unsafe provenance (see also *Chapter 6*: *I a*). It may be reasonable to expect that at least half of those excluded EC figurines (an estimated number of 673) are, in fact, genuine and, if we wish to add them to my recorded sample (567+673=1,240), then statistical analysis (app. G: Fig. 1) shows that far more figurines were produced in the EBA period than in the Neolithic.

II b. A break-down by 'sex' categories of the total sample (app. G: Fig. 2, 3, 4)

The results show that Female and Asexual figurines account for a comparable proportion of the whole sample. If, however, we merge the Female with the Female-related (Probably Female, Female form, Probably Female form) figurine percentages, we find that female symbolism in varying forms represents the predominant category (53%). The three remaining categories (M, PM, Ambiguous) account for only 1% each, while Probably Asexual figurines make up 6% of the total. Figure 3 confirms that all sex categories were not equally preferred in the EBA period and that, in fact, Asexual forms were preferred

over other types, which contrasts to the Neolithic period when Female representations predominated.

Conclusion: The modelling of the female anatomical body remained symbolically relevant in the context of EBA Aegean communities, in sharp contrast to male models which were rarely manufactured. Asexual representations, however, were also meaningful, and we might see them either as simple summary human shapes, or as models whose gender identity was demarcated in a way that has not survived for us today (decoration or other applied media, such as textiles). A brief comparison with the Neolithic results and the performed statistical analysis (Fig. 4) suggests that the variations in the sex categories between the two samples is linked to chronology. In the EBA, therefore, the representations of Female representations were not as central as in the Neolithic period and were replaced to a large extent by Asexual ones. Male models, however, continue to account for a very small proportion. This shift in the preferred representation of gender needs to be viewed in the light of the changing socio-economic environment and are further explored in *Chapter 7*.

II c. **Provenance of the total sample** (app. G: Fig. 5, 6, 7, 8)

The general area that is covered by the sample includes parts of the mainland and insular Aegean, the same broad geographical region as for Neolithic figurines. Starting from the northern mainland and moving south, figurines have been recovered from Macedonia, Thessaly, Boeotia and Attica (Central Mainland) and the Peloponnese. The insular Aegean is represented by islands of the North and East Aegean, Euboia, the Cyclades and Crete.

Figure 5 presents how figurines are broken down according to the area and the size of the represented sample. Note that for the Cyclades, I have distinguished between figurines which have been recovered from specific Cycladic sites and those that are attributed generally to the Cyclades. Figure 6 gives a detailed list of the exact sites and locations of recovery and provenance according to the wider geographical area, as well as the percentage of figurines according to area.

Figures 5 and 7 show a clear predominance of Cycladic figurines, representing over 50% of the whole assemblage. Next, Cretan figurines amount to less than half of the proportion of the Cycladic assemblage (22%). Exactly half this proportion came from E. Aegean contexts (11%), while the remaining proportion of 16% is comprised of regions of the Central Mainland, Euboia, Macedonia, the Peloponnese and Thessaly. The statistical analysis in Fig. 7, however, indicates that the Cyclades, the E. Aegean and Thessaly emerge as the focal areas for figurine use in the EBA Aegean. The centrality of the Cyclades is further highlighted by the fact that the main corpus of figurines that I have not recorded due to their date and method of recovery came from "said to be" Cycladic sites (see *Chapter 4*: *I*). Not all of the excluded ones would have been forged, and even if we add half of the known and excluded corpus to the number of recorded figurines (1,600-273=1,347÷2=**673**), the Cyclades would stand out even more as an area of high figurine production in comparison to other Aegean areas.

Conclusion: Cyclades, the E. Aegean and Thessaly seem to be the main areas where figurine production held a prominent place in society. Some other areas suggest an exceptionally low degree of figurine production, as in the case of Macedonia, the N. Aegean isles or Thrace, which is completely absent from the sample, although admittedly very few EBA sites have been detected and excavated in the regions of Macedonia and Thrace. This would suggest that certain parts of the Aegean specialised more in figurine production than others. As we will see later, in the case of the Cyclades, the exportation and emulation of figurines is even more meaningful in terms of the ideological aspects and prestige values attached to these objects in the context of prehistoric Aegean culture.

A brief comparison with the Neolithic indicates that, unlike the situation in the earlier period when figurines seem to have been closely correlated to the intra-site population level (with a possible exception of Knossos), in the EBA period the sample does not suggest a clear link between population level and figurine production, especially if we contrast Crete with the E. Aegean or Thessaly. Finally, areas that in the Neolithic period did not yield as many figurines became more prominent in figurine production in the EBA, as in the case of the Cyclades and the E. Aegean. Thessaly seems to have continued the earlier tradition of

the Neolithic, though at a much lower scale, while Macedonia seems to reflect the same drop in figurine manufacture that was already apparent in the FN phase.

II d. Provenance of 'sexed' figurines (app. G: Fig. 9, 10)

In most Aegean regions there is a predominance of Asexual figurines over any other category. In ascending order this pattern is true in the case of the N. Aegean (75%), Crete (65%), Thessaly (64%), C. Mainland (41.20%) and the Peloponnese (37.75%). Only one region has yielded a majority of Female figurines and that is the Cyclades (47.90%). In two regions, however, the proportion of Female and Asexual figurines is almost equal with a deviation of only 1-2% (c. 35.80-37.70%) and these are Euboia and the E. Aegean. Interestingly, M figurines are only present in the Cyclades and account for a very small percentage (1.70%). The only other possible male representations may be indicated by the PM proportions in Euboia (6.25%) and Crete (1%). Finally, Ambiguous figurines account, in general, for a small percentage and they are present in the Peloponnese (1.90%), E. Aegean (1.90%), the Cyclades (1.70%) and Crete (1%). Finally, the region of Macedonia is unusual in that it is dominated by Female-related categories, followed by an equal proportion of Asexual and Probably Asexual figurines (16.70%).

Conclusion: There is an overall preference for Asexual, schematic figurine forms, with the Cyclades representing the only exception. Euboia seems closer to the Cycladic pattern, while Crete (despite having imitations of Cycladic figurines) shows a very strong preference for Asexual figurines. The common feature in all regions, however, is that M figurines are represented by a very low proportion. Though a more detailed discussion will follow later, the EBA eidoloplastic evidence shows that in comparison to the Neolithic, there is a shift from predominantly Female to more schematic, Asexual forms.

III. EBA FIGURINES IN THEIR CONTEXT OF RECOVERY, CIRCULATION AND DEPOSITION

In this section I discuss the figurines in terms of two chronological parameters: the contextual date and the date as suggested on the basis of the established typology for the EC, EM and Anatolian figurines (see *I b* above for further details on its application). In terms of dating, when stratigraphic dates have not been available, I have used an approximate EBA time span that covers the phase(s) for which we have evidence from settlement or burial sites at the specific site (note here that for reasons of convenience the broad periods 'EB II' and 'EB II-III' also encompass transitional phases such as EC I/II or EM III/MM I respectively). Moreover, the reason I did not wish to point to one specific phase on the basis of typology, is because we know that figurines continued to be used outside the period of their manufacture. The suggested typological dates mainly serve to place figurines chronologically in terms of their manufacture period, but also to establish the time span in which they were in circulation. Additionally, the typology has also helped me in tracing possible local traditions for figurine manufacture, level of influence and the movement of imports. A problem that arose, however, is that though the intention of the comparative use of contextual and typological dates has been to refine the chronological framework, it leaves open the possibility that there are inconsistencies in the developed typological schema for EBA Aegean figurines, already suspected in the literature (Broodbank 1992, 545; Gill & Chippindale 1993, 627-8).

III a. Temporal and geographical context of the total sample

- **Chronology, the contextual use of figurines and typological implications** (app. G: Fig. 11)

In Fig. 11 the results are presented by suggested dates on the grounds of available dated evidence for settlement at the site or actual stratigraphic date of the site/area (first column), by typology when applicable (second column) and by total number (third column). The

figure shows that throughout the EBA, figurines have been recovered from mainland, Cycladic, Cretan and N. Aegean sites. In addition, EBA figurines have also been recovered from MBA, mainly Minoan sites, and even later contexts.

A number of points are relevant for the discussion of chronology and I will firstly concentrate on the cases of *possibly* curated figurines. Establishing such cases of 'curation' also entails the employment of conventional typological dates and some of the emerging inconsistencies cast doubts as to how secure these typologies are. It is for this reason that we need to consider the following cases as indicating that perhaps some of these types were being manufactured later than the date suggested on the grounds of typology. The other possibility, however, is that they may have been deliberately curated and used in later contexts. Apart from two cases where the date of the typology postdates the suggested date for contextual use of the figurine, the general pattern shows that many figurines were circulating in later phases, which possibly indicates that they were passed on from one generation to the next. Starting with the EB I-II period, a figurine found on the mainland from the transitional FN-EB I period has survived in a later context at Pefkakia (Thessaly). In the EB II period, again at Cycladic and mainland sites the typological dates of some figurines suggest that they too circulated or were produced after the proposed phase of their manufacture. In the period covering the EB II and III phases, possibly curated figurines were present at Cycladic and E. Aegean sites. In the later part of the EBA, figurines dating earlier than their context of recovery were present at E. Aegean, Cycladic and Cretan sites, in some cases dating to the earlier part, but we cannot be certain how many of those represent cases of curation due to the paucity of detailed statigraphic information.

Moving on to the MBA, all the cases of figurines manufactured in the EBA come from Archanes on Crete (Burial structures 7, 13, 18, 19, between 18 and 19, and Tholos Gamma). The EBA figurines that have been recovered from the Mycenean and Geometric contexts should be considered as belonging to an earlier Cycladic site and not as deliberate unbroken curation. As I have already argued, however, a number of figurines on the basis of the typology (EC II) developed by Renfrew (1969) postdate the known chronology for Antiparos (EC I). One such possible case also became apparent with a Cretan figurine of a type parallel to that of Aghia Triada (EM II/III) which was recovered from an earlier site (Myrtos) spanning the EM I and II phases. In general, however, if we accept the typological

dates, they seem to suggest a trend for circulation and deposition of figurines postdating the time of manufacture. Bearing in mind the problems relating to the typologies, however, the results should only be taken as general tendencies for figurine use in the EBA Aegean context.

I shall now turn to emulated and imported figurines turning up in different parts of the Aegean. In the period spanning EB I and II, figurines following the Anatolian tradition ('spade' and 'pebble' parallels) have been found on the mainland and Crete. In EB II two Minoan type figurines (Porti, A. Onouphrios parallels) were recovered from Cycladic sites, while one figurine of the Anatolian 'pebble' type was found on the mainland. In the later part of the EBA all the cases that indicate figurines being introduced from other areas came from Cretan sites. Two of these belong to the early Anatolian forms of Troy I and 'spade', while nine figurines are of the Cycladic tradition (Folded-Arm-Figurines [FAF]). More figurines, which cannot be securely dated in relation to their context, show a link between Euboia and the Cyclades in EC II, and offer more support for the contact between Crete and the Cyclades throughout the EBA, but also with Anatolia. Figurines from MM contexts further indicate a link with the Cyclades, although it is equally possible that they may have been transported there in the EBA period.

➢ **Temporal and geographical variables** (app. G: Fig. 12, 13, 14)

I will now relate the area of recovery of these figurines to the broad chronology regarding their context, as presented numerically and proportionately in Fig. 12 and 13 respectively. Crete, the Cyclades and the N. Aegean show a continuous production of figurines throughout the EBA. Areas that show a predominance of EB I-II figurines are Macedonia, the E. Aegean and Thessaly. In fact, Thessaly has not produced figurines that date after EB II. The regions that show a higher proportion of figurines dating to EB II and III are the Cyclades, C. Mainland and nearby islands, the Peloponnese and Crete. Finally, only Cretan sites have yielded EBA figurines from MBA contexts. As far as overall production of figurines is concerned in relation to the EBA phases, statistical analysis has indicated (Fig. 14) that more figurines than expected were produced in the EB II and, to a lesser degree, in

the EB I-II phases given the number of sites according to period. The results are probably affected by the high proportion of EC II Cycladic figurines.

A closer look at the regional picture reveals that the E. Aegean, Macedonia and Thessaly present similar chronological patterns, with a concentration of figurine production in the earlier and middle phases. On the other hand, some of the areas that have a higher proportion of figurines from contexts dating after EB II, as in the case of the Cyclades, Crete and Euboia, not only overlap chronologically with each other, but also share similar figurine forms (mainly Cycladic). When Anatolian early types have been found in the rest of the Aegean, they are also associated with contexts that date no later than EB II. Such chronological patterns, therefore, demonstrate that shared forms of figurines also indicate chronological and cultural links between the NE Aegean, C. Mainland and NW Anatolia on one hand, and between the Cyclades, Crete and Euboia on the other. Interestingly, links with Crete and Anatolian figurine forms can also be drawn.

Conclusion: A considerable number of figurines continued to circulate or be deposited in later phases. Alternatively, we need to review the proposed typologies and consider the possibility that certain figurine types continued to be produced after the suggested period of their manufacture. However, the fact that many figurines of that period show signs of mending [from Siphnos (Tsountas 1899, Pl.28), Kimolos (Zervos 1957, Pl.56), "Amorgos" (Sherratt 2000, Pl.143-5), Ayia Eirini (Caskey 1971, Pl.17), Akrotiri (Sotirakopoulou 1998, Pl.14a-d, 16a-d, 21a-d, 22a-d, 23a-d), Aghios Kosmas (Mylonas 1959, Fig.163), Koumasa (Xanthoudides 1924, Pl.XXI; see also Getz-Preziosi 1982)] further supports the idea that figurines were considered prized objects that were passed on from one generation to the next. As far as the movement of actual figurines and ideas relating to their form and symbolism are concerned, the evidence shows that apart from Anatolian and Near Eastern influences, there was also a high degree of sharing of ideas between regions of the Aegean. More specifically, Cycladic figurines had a strong impact on Crete and Euboia, while Cretan forms also influenced Cycladic types, as in the case of the Agios Onouphrios and Drios forms (Branigan 1971). Finally, I would like to note that figurine production is present throughout the EBA period in most parts of the Aegean, although Thessaly is the notable exception. Figurine production, however, seems to drop in EB III which could be indicative of a new meaning being expressed by the figurines, as their manufacture may

have come under tighter control. Alternatively, the drop in figurine manufacture may be reflecting other social changes in the EBA Aegean, if we assume that they were manipulated for the purposes of social competition.

A brief comparison between the temporal and geographical patterns in the Neolithic and EBA suggests some differences concerning the production and circulation of figurines. The main point to mention, however, is that though the data indicate a drop in figurine production in the FN, the data from EBA sites points to a continuation and unbroken tradition of manufacture, especially in the areas of Macedonia, Thessaly, C. Mainland, Euboia, the E. Aegean islands, the Peloponnese, the Cyclades and Crete. Regions which yielded figurines in the Neolithic phase, but have not produced any evidence in the EBA are Thrace, the Sporades and the Dodecanese (although that is likely to have been a result of the lack of excavated sites). One region that has produced new EBA figurine evidence, missing in the Neolithic, is the insular N. Aegean. Another interesting pattern is that figurine production in the Neolithic core areas (Thessaly and Macedonia in LN) became less central in the EBA and in fact stops abruptly at the end of the EB II period. Unless more excavations take place in these areas, we cannot be certain whether we are detecting a pattern indicating that figurine production eventually died out in these two regions. Finally, the pattern resulting from the application of typological schemata suggest that the EBA was possibly characterised by a higher level of curation, but also of a general sharing of ideas and symbolisms related to figurines as indicated by imported and emulated pieces.

III b. Temporal context of 'sexed' figurines

➢ The chronology of 'sexed' figurines (app. G: Fig. 15, 16)

Figures 15 and 16 present numerically and statistically how the 'sexed' figurines relate to the broader chronological periods in which they were in use. For reasons of convenience, I will focus the discussion on the proportions shown in Fig. 16.

Starting with Female figurines, their highest proportion is reached in the II and II-III phases, which can be explained because of the higher percentage of Cycladic figurines dating to those phases. In all other phases, however, they represent a lower proportion in comparison to the Asexual category. The Probably Female figurines are steadily low in percentage throughout the EBA, while Female form figurines are more numerous in EB I, in fact higher in percentage than their Female counterparts. Male figurines are almost always present and continually low in proportion, although in phase III there seems to be a slight increase. Asexual figurines represent a considerable proportion steadily throughout the EBA, apart from phases II and II-III, which again corresponds to the high number of Female Cycladic figurines dating to that period. The high percentage of Asexual figurines for the 'continuous' chronological use corresponds to the Cretan funerary contexts. Finally, Ambiguous figurines date mainly to phases II and II-III and they have been recovered from the E. Aegean, Peloponnese, Cyclades and Crete.

Conclusion: It has been difficult to draw clear conclusions regarding the chronological use of 'sexed' figurines due to the indistinct stratigraphy and method of recovery, especially if we take into account the extent of possible curation for such artefacts. The results verify, however, the same picture that already became apparent in the regional patterns regarding 'sexed' figurines. There is an overall predominance of Asexual figurines, apart from the higher EB II and II-III Female proportions that have been recovered in the Cyclades, the periods, therefore, that most Cycladic sites date to. Male figurines, on the other hand, are constantly low throughout the EBA period, apart from EB I when they are completely absent from the sample.

A brief comparison with the Neolithic patterns shows that Female figurines and Female-related types dominated the assemblage throughout the Neolithic period and accounted for almost equal proportions across time. In the case of the EBA, however, the 'sex' categories seem to fluctuate in time and Asexual figurines represented a much higher proportion than in the Neolithic phase. As far as M and Ambiguous figurines are concerned, they represent equally small percentages in both periods.

III c. Categories of site type of the total recorded sample

➢ Range of site types and recovered figurines (app. G: Fig. 17)

Figure 17 presents the categories of sites that yielded figurines in the EBA. The types of site includes OS and possibly OS (OS?), OS interpreted also as later sanctuaries (OS/sanctuary), CS with habitational use (CS), BS and probable BS (BS?), caves used as BS (BS/CS), BS or OS (BS/OS) and BS also interpreted by some as sanctuaries (BS/sanctuary). Some figurines hare also been found at sites that cannot be securely identified (Nk).

Starting with OS and OS?, the sites are situated all over the Aegean. The cases where figurines were found in OS in the Cyclades belong to a LBA context (Akrotiri, Thera and Koukounaries, Paros and Agia Eirini on Kea), although one figurine from Kato Poli at Amorgos may have come originally from an OS context. The majority of figurines from a settlement context come from the C. Mainland, the N. Aegean, the Peloponnese and Thessaly. Fewer were recovered on Crete, Euboia and Macedonia. The figurines from the OS (OS/sanctuary?) of Phylakopi (Cyclades) lack detailed enough information to elucidate the nature of their context (Davis 1984, 17), although Renfrew suggested that we may be in fact detecting evidence for the use of figurines in a domestic cult context (1984, 27). Of CS with a settlement usage, the one site is located in the C. Mainland (Sarakenou cave). The lack of burial evidence and the presence of EBA sherds and implements suggest that the figurines were found in a habitational context when the cave would be used seasonally. BS and BS? with separately defined cemeteries that have yielded the vast majority of figurines from a funerary context are situated in the Cyclades. Crete has also yielded many figurines from cemeteries, while a few have been found on Euboia. Caves were also used for burial purposes as in the case of Trapeza on Crete where figurines were also unearthed. Another type of site (Daskaleio in the Cyclades) containing figurines has been associated with unusual burial practices (Broodbank 2000, 230) and a possible such site on Crete (not identified in the literature by name), as suggested by Branigan (1972). Finally, a few figurines have come from not well-identified contexts where evidence suggests the

possibility of BS, but also OS (BS or OS) and thus cannot be placed in one or other category.

Conclusion: The number of OS and BS represent almost equal proportions. However, when we take into account the areas in which these sites are situated, we find that there is a clear geographical bias towards one type of site over another, notably illustrated by the N. Aegean, Thessaly and the Cyclades. Apart from Euboia, the C. Mainland and Crete, the rest of the mainland and the N. Aegean show a bias towards the use of figurines in settlements. On the other hand, the Cyclades with the exception of Phylakopi (possible sanctuary) yielded figurines solely from cemeteries. The areas that show an overlap of figurine use in both burial sites and settlements are C. Mainland, Euboia and Crete. Regarding the interpretation of figurines, therefore, on the basis of their context of recovery, we need to approach them as representing different local traditions that co-existed at particular sites at a micro-level, but also in the Aegean as a whole.

- **Categories of sites and recovered figurines in relation to chronology** (app. G: Fig. 18, Fig. 19)

In this section I shall relate the categories of sites that have yielded figurines to the broad contextual chronology. OS show that about 75% can be dated to the EB I and II phases with a proportion below 10% belonging to the III period. In the case of CS, the sample is very small and can only be taken to indicate possible uses of such sites in terms of chronology. The analysis, nevertheless, shows a definite early use (EB I), even though evidence has also indicated a continuous use of figurines in caves throughout the EBA. BS, if we exclude those that show a continuous use, suggest a predominance of cemeteries in phase II, especially in the Cyclades. Phases II and III are also represented and in the case of Crete, figurines have been found in burials that were in use from the EB II to the earlier part of the MBA. Moreover, those figurines that are said to be and are most likely to have been recovered from burial sites (BS?) also date to EB II and III. All figurines from Daskaleio (BS/sanctuary?) date to phase II. Finally, burials found in caves are not easily placed

chronologically, since the evidence suggests a continuous use of figurines in association with burials throughout the EBA period.

Conclusion: The use of figurines in settlements and caves coincides chronologically (EB II) but shows a distinct geographical bias. In phase III, there is a definite drop in figurines from OS at the same time as figurines decrease in numbers in BS. Only on Crete were figurines being used in burial contexts that were relevant and in use even in the MBA. The information contained in Fig. 11 also indicates a decreasing trend for figurine manufacture and circulation evident in different parts of the Aegean. This could be reflecting a number of changes. Perhaps figurines were becoming less relevant in the sphere of ideology and ritual (in OS or BS) as personal possessions (on the grounds that they were often contained in single burials Doumas 1977) towards the end of the EBA, if we associate the drop in numbers as possibly indicating a more communal use of figurines under a more centrally controlled ideological system that restricted their use [a point to offer support to this hypothesis is the recovery of figurines from EM III-MM I peak sanctuaries on Crete (Warren 1973, 144) and the indication that EM III-MM I peak sanctuaries marked a time of ideological uniformity (Branigan 1988, 123)]. This in turn would explain why the numbers of figurines drop in general towards the end of the EBA from the types of sites that were most closely linked to them in the preceding period at the same time as they occur in new contexts.

In comparison to the Neolithic results, there is above all a striking shift from the use of figurines in OS to mainly BS. Even when figurines were being used in a settlement context, the distribution of the sites suggests a geographical pattern which encompassed mainly sites of the mainland and E. insular Aegean. The other important difference relates to the use of figurines in sites of an exclusive ritual character, which were absent from the Neolithic sample. These changes in figurine use in relation to the types of sites in the EBA, are indicative of the new realms in which gender symbolism in the form of figurines became relevant, a pattern that was already slowly emerging from the end of the Neolithic.

III d. 'Sexed' figurines and their distribution by category of site (app. G: Fig. 20, 21)

Figure 20 shows that Female figurines score highest in BS and said to be BS (BS?). Asexual figurines, on the other hand, represent the highest proportion for BS, OS and possibly OS (OS?), but also at BS/CS (Trapeza). If now we look at regional patterns (Fig. 21) we find that BS concentrated mainly in the Cyclades and Crete, the regions which have yielded predominantly Female and Asexual figurines respectively (see Fig. 10). In the case of OS, the majority are located again in regions which have produced mainly Asexual figurines (Thessaly, C. Mainland, the Peloponnese, Crete) (see Fig. 10). If we add to those regions those figurines originating from the N. Aegean where the Female and Asexual proportions are comparable, we can then explain how the correlating patterns have emerged. These seem to reflect more the use and typology of figurines according to particular regions, rather than a pan-Aegean pattern of figurine form dictated by contextual circulation. This explains the predominance of Asexual and Female figurines in BS, since the majority of them have been recovered from Crete and the Cyclades, areas where figurines were mainly deposited in funerary contexts. Similarly, the high proportion of Asexual figurines found at settlements, represent the favoured typology in the areas of the N. Aegean, Thessaly and the Peloponnese, where they circulated in living contexts. The predominance of Asexual figurines at the BS/CS of Trapeza again confirms the relationship between the figurine form favoured in a particular region, as is the case for Asexual figurines on Crete.

Conclusion: As in the Neolithic, the correlation between the 'sex' of the figurine and their use in a given context and type of site does not reveal a pattern that was not dictated by the circulation of figurines in specific types of site. While in the Neolithic, however, the same pattern of figurine use in relation to the category of site was much more widespread throughout the Aegean, in the EBA, with its greater variety of types of sites, the pattern rather suggests a regional typological basis.

III e. Figurines and their contextual relationships

➢ Range of context and relevant chronology (app. G: Fig. 22, 23, 24)

I have divided the context of recovery (when available) into three main types: habitational/domestic, funerary and ritual (Fig. 22). The results indicate the kind of contexts that figurines have been recovered from, although a number of them lack detailed excavation information (Fig. 22, Fig. 23). When the publication does not indicate the type of context, or for sites from which figurines have not been published, I have relied on the information given by Marangou (C, 1992, 1997b) and combined it with the results of my sample as a way of drawing a fuller picture of the type of contexts that have been associated with figurines.

Settlements: In habitational/domestic contexts, we find that figurines have been found in association with the living spaces inside houses or general HS of settlements. Figurines recovered from house and general living contexts have been found in Macedonia (Marangou, C, 1997b, 651, Table 1), Thessaly, the C. Mainland, Euboia, the E. Aegean mainly, the Peloponnese, the Cyclades and a few from Crete. Notably, the Cyclades have produced very little evidence for figurines from settlement contexts (Fig. 22); four (Phylakopi, Ayia Irini, Skarkos, Koukounaries), out of 31 sites where figurines have been found represent domestic contexts or possible HS. In the case of Ayia Irini and Koukounaries the figurines were found in later contexts dating to the LBA period. Some interesting information is suggested by evidence from the NE Aegean and Troy. Figurines from Troy have been found in houses that show evidence for material processing, other than the material that the figurines were made of, which suggests that figurines circulated among craftspeople who were not figurine specialists (Marangou, C, 1997b, 660). When the figurines from the N. Aegean are found inside houses, there is a pattern suggesting that one figurine corresponds to one house and one hearth of the same cultural phase, though there are exceptions of figurine groupings from a single house, and houses containing no figurines (Marangou, C, 1997b, 658). The association between figurines and hearths is also supported by the fire marks found on figurines from the N. Aegean (Marangou, C, 1997b, 660). Figurines from Troy and Poliochni have also been found in streets, crossroads or

squares and uncovered spaces near the entrance of the town (Marangou, C, 1997b, 660). Marangou (C, 1997b, 660) has suggested that they could have either been used in uncovered spaces or they were discarded as waste material.

Also in settlement contexts, some figurines have been recovered from pits and refuse areas from the E. Aegean, Crete and the Peloponnese. In Zakros a figurine was found in a pit of the building that has been described as the "powerful structure" (Kontoleon 1972). One figurine from Crete has been found built into a wall (the typological and the contextual date coincide) and, if it was not used haphazardly as building material, it could be an indication of how figurines would have been used as ideological symbols.

Burials: The category of funerary context includes figurines that have been found in general or probably funerary contexts ["cemetery (?)"]. When the available information is more detailed, I have recorded figurines associated with individual burials or tombs under the category "burial" (or as likely or "said to be" as "burial?"). A few figurines have also been found in the general funerary area, but were not contained inside burials, and have come under the category "burial area". Finally, figurines have also been found inside pits contained in the funerary area. If we now look at the overall pattern, we find that the Cyclades and Crete represent by far the highest proportion, followed by Euboia. Other areas have produced figurines from living spaces, as well as funerary contexts, as is the case of the C. Mainland, the Peloponnese and one site of the N. Aegean (Protesilaos), according to Marangou for the last two regions (C, 1997b, 338, Table 26b). No figurines from funerary contexts have been recovered from the regions of Macedonia, Thrace and Thessaly.

Ritual context: Though all the figurines related to burials can be said to have been part of the funerary rites, one has been found in a particularly unusual context. It was found in a room at Myrtos in association with low benches and traces of fire (hearth between the benches), while other related finds included a burnt skull, baking plate, hand lamp, pestle and weight (Warren 1972, 83, 219). Because of the unusual context of this figurine in comparison to any other figurines, I interpret it as an indication of ritual activity. The figurines from Phylakopi have been analysed under OS, since I am not inclined to consider

them as coming from a public sanctuary context (*contra* Getz-Preziosi 1982 and Renfrew 1991).

When we now relate the categories of recovery context to the broad chronological periods (Fig. 23, Fig. 24), we find that in all three cases the majority of the figurines date to EBA I and II (in particular I-II, II). In fact figurines circulating in habitational and funerary contexts overlap chronologically and indicate that the two traditions of figurine use existed at the same time in parts of the Aegean. The one figurine found on Crete in a ritual context also dates to the same phase. From the phases II-III and III of the EBA, figurines drop in numbers in both habitational and funerary contexts, coinciding with the trend discussed earlier concerning the decrease of figurines towards the end of the EBA period. As I have already argued, what we may be detecting at the end of the EBA is a higher degree of control over figurine production as a result of more centralised mechanisms in relation to ideology and belief systems.

➢ **Finds associated with figurines** (app. G: Fig. 25, 26, 27)

Figure 25 presents the list of finds and a detailed account of what each class includes, as well as the number of associated figurines and their frequency. Starting with the most frequent association, we find that figurines tend to be found with other figurines. In fact, in the Cyclades figurines can often be the only type of offering placed in graves. At a much lower level, obsidian, personal ornaments, pottery, marble vessels, pyxides, fine pottery and tools have also been associated with figurines. Fewer figurines have been found in relation to metal implements and tools, human bones in secondary deposition, organic remains, ivory objects, marble palettes, metal weapons and vessels. Stone vessels, sauceboats and weaving equipment are rarely associated with figurines. One category that is interestingly found in relation to figurines in burial contexts is pebbles (occasionally coloured) and they seem to constitute part of the funerary ritual. Finds that are not associated with figurines in the Cyclades, but which have been recovered from settlement contexts, include coarse pottery (which occurs, however, at the cemetery of Aghios Kosmas) and obsidian arrowheads (Doumas 1977, 60-61). The majority of buried offerings, however, were

previously in use in settlement contexts, as attested by repaired figurines, surviving parts of vessels, utensils or figurines (Doumas 1977, 61). The fact that figurines have been recovered from settlement strata (Phylakopi and Skarkos in the Cyclades) support the argument that before their interment, they accompanied their owners in their everyday life (Doumas 1977, 63). As far as the arrangement of figurines inside burials is concerned, they were often thrown in a haphazard way into the burial, often crushed under the weight of marble vases or blocking stones (Doumas 1977, 63). In two cases, however, figurines have been found in special niches constructed inside burials (Doumas 1977, 63), which could be taken as an indication of how figurines may have also have been arranged inside houses.

The aim of this table in Fig. 27 is to test whether additional evidence supports the patterns discussed above. Most of the loosely associated artefacts refer to grave goods from communal burials from Crete where, in the majority of cases, it has been impossible to draw direct links between figurines and specific categories of finds, except on a chronological basis. In the case of the Lebena burials, however, we have evidence suggesting that figurines in some cases were associated with pottery and stone vases, and occasionally seals [Warren, n.d. (unpublished seminar paper)]. In general, figurines found in communal burials on Crete parallel the prevailing funerary tradition of the Cyclades in terms of offerings.

In relation to other offerings, figurines were not a very common type of grave good. Gill and Chippindale (1993) estimate that in the Cyclades there was a correspondence of one figurine for every ten graves. I have used the results by Doumas (1977) to test (in the sample of unplundered burials only) how often figurines furnished graves in the Cyclades. Out of 188 unplundered burials, only 55 of those contained figurines, while 133 did not. In fact, the majority of Cycladic burials were poor and only a few could be characterised as richly furnished (Doumas 1977, 60). When burials contain offerings, most of them are not associated with figurines, pottery being the most common type of grave good (Doumas 1977, 60). Figure 26 shows a list based on unplundered, single burials from the results presented by Doumas (1977) as a check list against which I can test the frequency with which certain categories of finds are associated with figurines. The second column shows the number of burials in which the listed artefacts are not found with figurines and the third one presents the finds from Cycladic burials as well as unplundered ones from Euboia

which show associations with figurines. The aim of this exercise is not only to establish the links between figurines and other grave goods, but also the frequency with which they were used to furnish burials in the Cyclades and Euboia.

Conclusion: Judging from grave good associations in rich burials and the frequency with which figurines were contained in graves, we should consider them as prized possessions [at least in the Cyclades, Euboia and Crete (for Crete see Maggidis 1998)]. The use of figurines in the Cyclades, therefore, was interwoven with the status of the individual, as suggested by their rare occurrence in burials (in comparison to other grave goods), and their associations with other prestigious grave goods (stone vessels, fine pottery, metal weapons and ornaments) at a time when the majority of graves were poorly furnished (Doumas 1977, 60). A possible scenario, however, is that figurines may have also been made of perishable materials, such as wood, and that is why they have not been recovered from the poorer graves (Barber 1984, 11). Moreover, we should envisage figurines as also being part of the everyday lives of people, before they were placed inside the burials (Doumas 1977, 63). As far as the use of figurines in regions where they lack funerary associations is concerned, as I have already discussed, the general recovery pattern indicates a use of figurines alongside quotidian activities in a domestic context or may have had an apotropaic use in the settlement setting (Marangou, C, 1997b, 663 for figurines in settlement context of Troy and Poliochni, Lesbos).

One final point resulting from the association of marble figurines with particular types of grave goods is that it was not a practice limited only to the Cyclades. The actual typology of the figurines in terms of style and use of material (imported, imitations or hybrids), but also structural similarities of the graves and the tradition of the associated grave goods (Keros-Syros and Phylakopi I), suggest that Cycladic funerary behaviour was also followed outside the Cyclades at the sites of Agios Kosmas and Tsepi in Attica, Manika on Euboia, Iassos in Asia Minor and Ayia Photia on Crete (Doumas 1977, 65-69). Even when there is no such close link with the Cyclades, the presence of figurines following the broader Cycladic stylistic tradition found on the southern mainland and Crete suggest that there was a certain degree of consensus on the shape anthropomorphic symbolism could take. The exception, of course, is represented by the sites in the N. and E. Aegean which follow more the Anatolian stylistic tradition and patterns of figurine use.

A brief comparison with the Neolithic indicates that, at least on the grounds of funerary context, figurines in the EBA were under tighter control over their circulations, as suggested by their inclusion in rich burials. In addition, for a large part of the Aegean, the use of figurines as grave goods indicates that apart from serving to communicate the personal or family status of the individual, they also extended their symbolic power in a new metaphysical realm (a pattern which had already become apparent in a limited scale in the LN and FN). We would be right to argue, however, that in both periods figurines were a part of everyday life of their owners and were relevant for the enactment of ideology and the gender elements integrated in it (consciously or not).

➢ **Features associated with figurines** (app. G: Fig. 28)

I will now explore how figurines are related to various features by direct association or broad chronology, presented in Fig. 28. The figurine from Myrtos that I have already discussed as possible evidence for ritual use has been found in association with a bench and a hearth. As Marangou (C, 1997b) has pointed out, however, figurines are also closely related with hearths at settlements of the NE Aegean and Troy and they even bear fire marks. The fact that figurines circulated in settlement contexts is also attested by the loose chronological relation with hearths and a pit found in the Peloponnese. Apart from pits associated with figurines in the Cyclades, the remaining features are all of a funerary character. Graves have been found in direct relation to figurines in a Cycladic context and again in a broader funerary context. Interestingly, we also come across a case where one figurine was placed in a double burial, presumably belonging to members related by blood or marriage. I have also grouped figurines found outside burial structures on Crete or in relation to larnakes inside communal burials, again on Crete, but with no direct stratigraphic link.

Conclusion: The features found in association with figurines, therefore, confirm the patterns that became apparent from the analysis based on the type of site and the associated finds which have shown a synchronous geographical separation in figurine use largely between mainland, Anatolian-influenced and insular Aegean. In comparison with the

Neolithic, however, apart from the new funerary practices occurring in the LN and FN Cycladic context, a far more homogeneous pattern emerged for the whole Aegean.

III f. 'Sexed' figurines and their contextual associations (app. G: Fig. 29, 30, 31)

In domestic contexts (Fig. 29) both Female and Asexual figurines have been found inside houses, though Asexual figurines are more numerous. The evidence follows the pattern we have already discussed whereby Asexual forms predominate in settlement sites. Moving on to the funerary context, the proportion of Female and Asexual figurines overall is comparable with Cretan figurines as a whole, accounting for a high number of Asexual figurines contained in tombs. The single Female figurine related to a ritual context, on the other hand, is not enough to draw a conclusion regarding the represented 'sex' of the figurines found in such contexts. In summary, I would argue that 'sexed' figurines and their circulation in particular contexts represent again the prevailing typology and preference for figurine use in certain parts of the Aegean.

Figure 30 presents how the 'sex' categories relate to the finds found in association with figurines. A point to note is that due to the secondary deposition taking place in Minoan tombs, it has been particularly difficult to draw neat associations between figurines and other finds. The analysis, therefore, relies heavily on evidence from the Cyclades, Euboia, the N. and E. Aegean and mainland sites. The available evidence shows that more Female figurines were associated with marble vessels and cups, although I would explain the pattern again as reflecting a Cycladic funerary tradition where female figurines are more common. More Asexual figurines, on the other hand, were found in association with metal weapons and 'frying-pans'. Male figurines have been found with other anthropomorphic figurines, marble vessels, metal utensils, ornaments, pyxides and stone vessels. The only category of finds that more M figurines are associated with is metal utensils, though none of the related artefacts show an exclusively male pattern. Artefacts that are almost equally associated with Female and Asexual figurines are other anthropomorphic figurines, obsidian, ornaments, pottery, pyxides and non-metal tools. Even though there seems to be a

higher number of particular 'sex' categories associated with certain finds, they do not represent exclusive patterns since Female, Asexual and even M figurines have been found with such associations. The only case that differs is the two and only Asexual figurines that have been found in relation to metal weapons.

If we now look at Fig. 31 we can see how 'sexed' figurines relate to associated features. Unfortunately, the number of figurines is very low and for that reason it is difficult to reach any meaningful conclusions, apart from the fact that the associated features verify the pattern that has already become apparent, that is the link between the mainly Asexual Minoan figurines deposited inside tombs (associated with larnakes). The evidence, therefore, would seem to support the general pattern between the regional typologies regarding the represented 'sex' and the use of figurines in particular contexts.

Conclusion: The association between the represented 'sex' of the figurines and the context of recovery, as well as the associated finds and features, do not support a link between the two variables, even though the following section (Part *IV*) explores further the possible links between the represented sex and associations with certain types of artefacts on the basis of mortuary data and gender-related grave goods. Finally, in comparison with the Neolithic, the picture looks very similar in the sense that in both periods there does not seem to be a pattern which would have dictated the circulation of one type of 'sexed' figurine over another in any given context.

IV. THE MORTUARY RECORD IN RELATION TO FIGURINES IN THE CONTEXT OF GENDER ARCHAEOLOGY

In this section I pay special attention to the mortuary record for the period of the EBA and how this information can elucidate aspects regarding gender and the use of figurines. Unlike the Neolithic when figurines circulated mainly in settlements, a considerable proportion of EBA figurines have been recovered from funerary contexts, which affords us the opportunity to explore further possible links with the aspect of gender as revealed through the mortuary record. I shall approach this issue by examining whether a link can be established between gender and certain categories of artefacts on the first level, and secondly how figurines associate with gender-related material culture in order to gain an insight into the gender symbolism of figurines and the aspects regarding their use.

IV a. Skeletal evidence (app. G: Fig. 32)

EBA burial sites in the Aegean are numerous, many of which, unfortunately, have been heavily looted and consequently disturbed. Putting those aside, burials from only four sites have been sexed anthropologically, namely those of Manika on Euboia (Sampson 1988), Aghios Kosmas in Attica (Mylonas 1959), and Phourni, Archanes on Crete (Maggidis 1998). Note that none of these burials are situated in the Cyclades, a region particularly rich in burials containing figurines, but also subject to heavy looting as a result of the high demand for Cycladic figurines in the art market. For this reason, any patterns that may emerge from the association between sexed skeletons and gender-related artefacts will need to be extrapolated from non-Cycladic sites and then tested against the available evidence from Cycladic sites. Figure 32 summarises the available published skeletal information that I have been able to gather regarding Aegean EBA burial sites. A point to note is that some of the male skeletons from Manika have not been sexed with a high degree of certainty and that is why they are marked with a question-mark. Most of them are single interments, although some joined burials have also been included. In the case of Aghios Kosmas the skeletal material has come from multiple burials, which, as we shall see later, complicates the correlation between sexed skeletons and grave goods. Burial Building 19 at Phourni

(Archanes, Crete) represents a structure used for communal burials and the information regarding the sexed skeletons is not published in detail, but also the continual and communal use of the structure renders the link between grave goods and actual skeletons difficult, as in the case of all EM burial tholoi. Of Cycladic burials, three skeletons in total have been sexed, but though I have tried to trace the numbered graves in the original excavation reports or other relevant publications, I have been unable to identify them and have not therefore been able to progress with the analysis any further.

IV b. Gender differentiation in burial: grave type, position, orientation of grave and body

Starting with Manika I have not been able to detect an exclusive pattern that would suggest a different gender-related burial custom for male and female skeletons. The shape of the graves, the orientation of the grave and the position of the skeleton seem to have been shared between male and female sexed skeletons. In the case of Aghios Kosmas the fact that men and women were buried in the same grave does not indicate a differential treatment between genders, while information is not available concerning the position of the body, especially as many of the skeletons had been moved around in order to accommodate new burials. The communal burial building at Phourni included skeletons belonging to both sexes, but we cannot be certain of the orientation of the bodies because of the continual use of the structure. The identified group of skeletons placed around an altar in Burial Building 19, however, included both male and female, as well as children's skeletons *in-situ* and it would be reasonable for us to conclude, therefore, that women and men were not placed in different sectors inside the structure.

So far, I have attempted to discern a pattern between sexed burials and features of the grave as well as treatment of the body as possible indications of gender. As the results discussed above do not throw light on these aspects, I have also decided to follow an alternative exploration of the mortuary data. Vida Navarro (1992) in her analysis of gender and burials paid special attention to the processes in which patterns can be detected from intra-site evidence, even when the skeletal material is not informative. In the case of the EBA

Aegean, numerous burials are known from the Cyclades, even though we lack the anthropological analysis. I have explored, however, whether the known information regarding the shape and orientation of the graves (Doumas 1977) can yield differential patterns that could possibly be explained through gender. Unfortunately, the available data have not produced any meaningful patterns. When the same type of grave is preferred for all the known graves of the same cemetery (Avdheli, Kapsala, Krassades, Pyrgos, Zoumbaria, Syros), the missing information on the orientation has not allowed me to proceed with the analysis any further. When more than one type of graves is present in the same cemetery (Akrotiri, Plastiras, Rhodinadhes, A. Anargyroi, Lakkoudhes A, Panayia, Livadhi and Akrotiraki) they belong to different chronological phases [Pelos-Lakkoudhes (EC I), Keros-Syros(EC II)] and cannot, therefore, be explained through gender. Moreover, in most cases the orientation of the grave is not known which again limits us to explore further if other criteria were active in the marking of socially differentiated status, even though we know that single and multi-storeyed graves existed alongside, probably a pattern related to lineage patterns. The only cemetery where it is possible that the preferred grave shape may be related to the gender of those buried is Lakkoudes (types A, B', C'; see Doumas 1977, 41-49 for grave types), especially as their use also coincides chronologically (Pelos-Lakkoudhes, EC I).

Conclusion: The evidence so far does not indicate a different treatment between genders at least at the three sites that have provided us with sexed skeletal material, although in the case of communal burials that may be the result of continual and post-depositional activities taking place in the time of the grave's use. As far as non-sexed Cycladic burials are concerned, the vast majority of cemeteries have not provided us with discernible gender-related patterns in the construction and orientation of the grave. Also bearing in mind that the exact position of the body in Cycladic burials is not known to us, has also created limitations in the analysis of the available evidence. We should assume, however, that the bodies were placed in the same position (contracted) inside the grave, as suggested by a number of excavators (Bosanquet 1895, 141-2; Dussaud 1910, 86; Stephanos 1903, 55; 1904, 58; 1905, 217; Tsountas 1898, 148, 164). It is possible, however, that distinctions were active in EBA Aegean burials between genders which are not detectable in the evidence that has survived today. In the case of Syros, for instance, the bodies were

positioned either on the right or left side (Bosanquet 1895, 141-2), an arrangement that could have been associated with the gender of the deceased - a very common pattern.

IV c. Single and collective burials: problems and opportunities for gender archaeology

As has already become apparent, burial practices and customs were not uniform in the EBA Aegean and different regions followed different traditions regarding the type of graves, the treatment of the body, but also whether the burials were single or took place in communal constructions, with the Cyclades and Crete representing the most diametrically different traditions. Single burials, for instance, were preferred mainly in Euboia and the Cyclades (although multiple burials are also known). Tholoi and burial buildings (both multiple burials), on the other hand, represented the prevailing tradition on Crete. Such regional differences can limit the extent to which we could possibly extrapolate gender-related patterns from one society and apply it to another culturally-affiliated group, especially considering the limited sample of sexed skeletons that is available to us for the EBA Aegean.

Starting with communal burials, an even more important problem results from our inability to associate skeletons directly to grave good assemblages (for Crete, Aghios Kosmas and to a lesser extent Manika and the Cyclades). Particularly, in the case of Aghios Kosmas, despite the information for sexed skeletons, the fact that the graves were used for multiple burials, but also the post-depositional activities and the continual use of the grave does not allow me to associate with any certainty the available grave goods with male or female skeletons. Moreover, only some of the skeletons have been sexed as the female one from grave 8 at Aghios Kosmas, leaving open the possibility that the remaining unsexed ones were male. The same, of course, also applies to communal burials from Crete, apart from rare instances when *in-situ* associations between the skeletons and grave goods are detected, as is the case of Phourni, Burial Building 19 (Maggidis 1998).

A more promising avenue for gender analysis is afforded to us by single burials, since it is far easier to compare grave good assemblages that we know belong to separate burials and

then compare them against each other in an attempt to trace gender-related patterns in the distribution of material culture in a funerary context. As Vida Navarro (1992) has demonstrated, such an exercise is also possible independently from the availability of reliable sexed skeletons, particularly useful in the case of Cycladic single (and unplundered) burials. An even more direct link can be drawn with the evidence from the cemetery of Manika where single and sexed burials are available for research. Another point to mention here is that considering the level of Cycladic imports and Cycladic-type material culture present at the cemetery of Manika (see Sampson 1988) we would be justified in extrapolating from that analysis possible gender-related patterns that may have also been active in the Cyclades.

Conclusion: The fragmented pattern of the mortuary record for the EBA Aegean, but also the recovery of figurines in some regions solely from settlement contexts (e.g. the E. Aegean or the Peloponnese) limits the conclusions we can draw in relation to gender and material culture and consequently figurines and gender-related material culture. It is important, however, to explore all possible avenues of research with the available mortuary data, despite the inherent problems of the funerary record of the EBA Aegean.

IV d. Gender-related material culture, figurines and the mortuary record (app. G: Fig. 33, 34, 35, 36)

In this section I will explore whether the association between burials and grave goods can reveal patterns concerning gender-material culture which will in turn elucidate gender aspects of figurine symbolism and their use. This entails two stages of analysis. The first one involves the association between sexed skeletal evidence and grave goods in order to explore whether we can detect different artefact assemblages that can be attributed to one or the other gender and how figurines fit into these material culture patterns. After exploring possible patterns between material assemblages and sexed burials, I will then examine how figurines fit into the pattern of gender-related grave goods.

Figure 33 summarises the known sexed skeletal evidence from Manika with the grave goods found in them according to single male or female burials, multiple male and female,

and child burials. Unfortunately, the results do not show any mutually-exclusive patterns that could be explained in terms of gender. One category of artefacts (frying-pans), however, seems more likely to have been associated with men than women. Female burials, on the other hand, are furnished more often with bone tubes than their male counterparts. All other categories, however, are common to a greater or lesser degree between male and female burials. Figurines are equally rare in both types of burial, but they could have been contained in burials of both sexes. It is also interesting that spinning implements, often traditionally taken to mark female burials (also by Sampson 1988, see Fig. 35), in the case of Manika are contained in two male burials. Metal objects also furnished both types of burials, even though a detailed list of what they represented (perhaps jewellery or implements) is not provided in the publication, apart from two cases of metal (bronze and bronze and silver) jewellery both of which furnished female burials. In the case of cups, however, despite Sampson's (1988) interpretation that they were associated with women (see Fig. 35), this cannot be supported with any certainty by the available data, since, they have also been found with one male burial and with two multiple male and female burials. Finally, Sampson (1988) (Fig. 35) has argued that knives were contained in both male and female burials, though the results of his analysis indicate that the two knives were found in two unsexed burials (148, 167). I would argue, therefore, that considering the discrepancies between the published data and the conclusions drawn by Sampson presented in Fig. 35, we need to assume either that the excavator has based his interpretations on information he has not included in his published catalogue and tables, or that he has presumed gender-related categories on the grounds of traditionally constructed gender roles, as in the case of spindle whorls and female burials. In addition, the lack of detailed description of some of the general categories, as in the case of metal artefacts, does not allow a more in-depth analysis of the grave goods in relation to the sexed skeletons.

Bearing in mind the difficulties mentioned above, I will next examine whether the combination of specific artefacts found together in the same grave can throw more light on the existence of 'male' and 'female' kits that accompanied the dead in EBA Manika. A look at male burials first, shows that a very common 'male' funerary assemblage is that of frying-pans alone and the only repeated pattern of objects found together is that of frying-pan(s) with a colour-palette (occasionally with metal items), although colour palettes are also contained in female graves. Note also, that no frying-pans have been recovered from

female burials. Turning now to female burials, bone tubes are often found on their own, but there does not seem to be a particular combination of grave goods that is preferred over other ones. It is interesting, however, that in the only male and female burial that included figurines, they are associated with a frying-pan and bone tube respectively. If we now look at the multiple male and female burials, we find the same combination of frying-pan and colour-palette repeated twice, interestingly, with spinning implements in one of the cases. Bone tubes are also included among the joined burials on three occasions, in one case also associated with spindle whorls. There is no joined burial, however, that would contain both 'male' and 'female' artefacts, e.g. frying-pans and bone tubes, which would more clearly demonstrate the interment of two people belonging to different genders. If that is the case, would it be reasonable to assume, therefore, that only one of the two individuals buried in the same grave would be accompanied by grave goods? Alternatively, joined burials that contained shared artefacts (cups, metal objects, spinning equipment) between men and women may have in fact represented grave goods that accompanied both individuals in the grave. In the case of three joined burials (39, 54, 61) where one of the skeletons belonged to a child, two assemblages follow the 'male' and 'female' pattern of grave goods (frying-pan and colour-palette in 39 and bone tube in 54). Since it is not marked in the publication which of the two skeletons belonged to a child, perhaps the evidence indicates the burial of two adults (male in 39 and female in 54) with their children, though it is equally possible that one or all of the grave goods may have in fact accompanied the children.

Finally, in the case of child burials, one (81) was furnished with a figurine, but this may have belonged to a boy, since it also contained a frying-pan, a combination that has already been noted for adult male burials (2) with the exception of the colour-palette, perhaps indicating that the practice of body-painting would have applied only to adults. The other child burial contained only one cup which does not allow us to attribute it to one or the other gender with any certainty. Another point resulting from children's burials is that considering how rarely figurines were contained in burials and the implications regarding their value, children were accompanied with objects that belonged to their high status parents, even if we do not accept the possibility that, in at least some EBA Aegean societies, social status was inherited by children.

Turning our attention to the burials from Aghios Kosmas, the association between grave goods and the sexed skeletons is even more limited, due to the small available sample on one hand, but also due to joined inclusion of numerous male and female skeletons in the same grave and the post-depositional activities that would have disturbed the original arrangement of objects in association with the bodies. Moreover, in most cases, only some of the skeletal evidence was sexed, thus leaving open the possibility that the remaining material may have belonged to individuals of the opposite sex. When the offerings contained in these graves are actually described, the information does not allow us to assume that they were actually associated *in-situ* with the sexed skeletons or with the other unsexed skeletal material included in the same grave. I have nevertheless summarised and presented the results in Fig. 34, though the only conclusions we can draw is that a similar material culture was included in the burials as those in Manika, with the notable exceptions of frying-pans and bone tubes. It would be reasonable to deduce from the available evidence, therefore, that a different material repertoire operated in different Aegean regions for the demarcation between genders.

In the case of Phourni (Fig. 35) we find that jewellery accompanied male and female burials equally, while the main distinction between men and women was expressed through the artefacts of obsidian blades on one hand and cooking pots on the other (as suggested by Maggidis, Fig. 36), although one male skeleton (188) also included two vessels of the same type as those found in association with a female one (168). Interestingly, one stone vase has been found in association with a female skeleton. In addition, the fact that children's burials were associated with metal jewellery is also an indication that social status may have also been inherited by children on EBA Crete, as on Euboia. Another point resulting from Maggidis' analysis is that at least on family was set apart from the others included in the same burial structure, as suggested by their placement around an altar and the special value of their accompanying grave goods (1998, 94-5), which may have implications for the understanding of social status of gender and the blood or marriage ties between men and women belonging to the same social, lineage group.

IV e. Grave goods in association with figurines (app. G: Fig. 37, 38)

The association between figurines and other grave goods will be explored with the aim of detecting mutually-exclusive patterns or dichotomies that could possibly be explained through gender. Figure 37 presents a summary of figurines from known Cycladic cemeteries; they are organised by grave code which means that more than one figurine is included in the same grave. The associated grave goods are also marked in the table. A starting point would be to compare the results with the sexed burials from Manika, a cemetery particularly rich in Cycladic imports and Cycladic-type artefacts. As I have already pointed out, frying-pans have been regarded as grave goods highly associated with male burials, as opposed to bone tubes which have been linked to female ones. In Fig. 37 the only case of a frying-pan has been found in the same grave with a pyxis, marble vessel, tools, obsidian blades, metal drills and pottery. Interestingly, the only bone tube ('female' grave good in Manika) in the sample has been found in association with tools, metal drills and needle, a fibula (part of the general attire) and a sword. An artefact, therefore, that in Euboia seems to have been associated solely with female sexed burials is associated with weaponry in the Cyclades. The implications are (a) that Euboia and the Cyclades followed a different gender-related material repertoire, despite the similarities in the artefactual record, (b) that body-painting was considered part of male warrior status, if we assume that swords accompanied men, (c) that women were associated with weaponry in the Cyclades and (d) that a kind of overlap between gender identities or cross-over was possible for individuals of a special status (warrior). The only other grave containing a sword has been found with obsidian blades only, which does not allow me to explore further how it compares in relation to other grave good assemblages. The two graves containing the swords, however, do not contain pyxides, cups or marble vessels that seem to be common re-occurring categories of artefacts. Unfortunately, swords have not been recovered from any of the Euboian sexed graves and so we have no grounds to base our gender hypotheses, even though the 'female' bone tube might point towards a female identity of the buried individual. Furthermore, a cautionary tale regarding our automatic association between weapons and men (and jewellery and women) has been put forward by Lucy (1997) which demonstrates that we should not try to suggest traditional interpretations that our data simply do not support, but also that the biological sex does not always coincide with what we have culturally termed as 'male' or 'female' material culture.

A similar challenge to our preconceptions is also presented by male burials containing spinning and weaving implements in Manika, which is enough to demonstrate the caution with which we need to approach material culture in terms of gender-related patterns (see Vida Navarro 1992, 95). Unfortunately, spindle whorls are not contained in the Cycladic burials presented in Fig. 37 and so I cannot examine how they relate to the other grave goods. Finally, jewellery has been found in association with a burial containing a sword, but also with those furnished with pyxides, cups and marble vessels, if we accept that the two categories of assemblages may in fact represent a gender-related pattern. Though, the data from the Cyclades do not allow us concrete conclusions regarding gender, two points to make are that (a) figurines were found in burials which can be termed high status on the grounds of the overall grave good content, and (b) if we accept that weapons marked one gender as separate from the other(s), then figurines accompanied genders of a distinct social status in the Cyclades and were not necessarily restricted to one gender class.

Figure 38 shows the summarised data form Cretan burials containing figurines in direct association with other grave goods. At Archanes, figurines are often accompanied by obsidian blades and jewellery and in the one case when an associated dagger has been found, what distinguishes it from the others is the metal pin, possibly part of the general attire. Interestingly, jewellery is contained in male and female burials (as already suggested by Maggidis, see Fig. 36). Obsidian blades have also been suggested by Maggidis (1998) to represent 'male' artefacts, though they may have been used by men and women, if we consider the possibility of a utilitarian function. The other correlation to mention is that when tools are associated with figurines, they are also accompanied by obsidian blades and jewellery. Tools, however, are lacking from the assemblage containing the dagger, although there is an overlap suggested by the presence of obsidian and jewellery. Tools, however, may have not been included due to the special social status held by the individual associated with the dagger and not necessarily as an exclusively gender-associated category of artefacts. I do not think, however, that the data are sufficient for Crete (even with the knowledge of the few sexed skeletons) to discern a clear pattern between gender-related material assemblages. If the dagger is taken to be associated with one gender only, then the presence of figurines in assemblages not related to weaponry could indicate that figurines accompanied in life and death both women and men. A final point is that, as with the Cyclades, figurines on Crete were also part of relatively 'rich' assemblages. As Maggidis

(1998, 94-5) has pointed out, the recovery of a figurine placed on an altar in association with a high status burial encompassing a number of individuals accompanied with prestigious grave goods can be taken as supporting evidence.

Conclusion: The fragmented mortuary record in terms of stratigraphic resolution, the patchy and inconsistent bibliographic references of grave good categories per grave, the nature of some of the burials (communal, multiple), the looting of many Cycladic graves, as well as the lack of sexed anthropological material has limited the attempt to draw conclusions regarding the use of figurines as 'male' or 'female' material culture. However, some interesting avenues have been opened regarding the indirect association of 'female' grave goods from Manika with weaponry in the Cyclades. Other useful points have resulted from the detection of some possible patterns between grave good assemblages both on Crete and the Cyclades which could suggest that figurines were not restricted to one gender only. The association of figurines, however, with 'rich' burials can further support the possibility that they were restricted for use among individuals of both (or all) genders belonging to groups that enjoyed a higher social status. Finally, the fact that figurines were not contained in most of the EBA Aegean burials, is a sign of the special symbolism and value with which they were endowed.

IV f. 'Sexed' figurines in association with sexed burials and grave goods

In section *III e*, I have already discussed how 'sexed' figurines relate to broad categories of artefacts from all recovery contexts from all Aegean sites and the results have not shown any clear correlations between the 'sex' of the figurines and the associated artefacts. There did not emerge any exclusive links, therefore, with only one type of 'sexed' figurines. In this section I will examine how the represented sex of the figurine relates to the known sexed skeletons and the gender-associated categories of grave goods.

Starting with the known sexed skeletons, the only graves that are suitable for such correlation are those from Manika, since those from Aghios Kosmas were multiple (including both sexes) and represent highly disturbed interments without a clear in-situ

association, while in the case of the sexed skeletons from Phourni the figurines are not included in the publication and have not therefore been included in my database. In the case of Manika the three graves that contain figurines and which have been recorded in my database (have been published therefore) belonged to burials whose skeletal material has not been sexed. As far as the link between 'sexed' figurines and sexed skeletons are concerned, therefore, it is impossible to draw a link on the basis of the available evidence.
The next stage of analysis involves the association between figurines and those artefacts that have emerged as gender-related from their link with sexed graves. As I have already discussed, the only artefacts that have emerged as 'male' are the frying-pans from the cemetery of Manika and the bone tubes as 'female'. Since these artefacts are not associated with figurines in Manika, I will turn to the Cycladic mortuary record for possible patterns. Starting with the frying-pans, in the one burial they were accompanied by one Female form and one Asexual figurine. Perhaps the absence of Female figurines is indicative, although one occurrence of such assemblage is not sufficient to support a link between frying-pans and non-'female' figurines, especially as one of them belongs to the Female form type, closely associated with Female figurines. Unsexed burials from Euboia, however, not included in the publication by Sampson (1988) which included frying-pans have been found with Female and Asexual figurines, in one case in the same burial. The only other occurrence of a bone tube with a figurine represents the Asexual type, not Female as one may have expected on the grounds of their 'female' associations in Manika. Finally, as far as the two swords are concerned in Cycladic graves, they have been found in one case with one Asexual and Probably Asexual figurine and in the other with one Asexual one, possibly a link with non-'female' figurines. However, the same burial containing the sword and the Asexual figurine was also furnished with the bone tube which in Manika emerged as a 'female' grave good. The three figurines associated with the daggers at Archanes on Crete unfortunately belonged to fragmented pieces which could not be 'sexed'.

Conclusion: As in the case of the sexed graves, the limitations of the EBA Aegean mortuary record have not allowed me to explore further the association between the represented sex of the figurines, the sexed skeletons and other grave goods. In addition, the fact that only two categories of artefacts emerged as 'male' and 'female' has in turn restricted the link between 'sexed' figurines and gender-related material culture. On the basis of the available mortuary evidence, therefore, and the limited occurrences of

associated grave goods and the 'sexed' figurines I cannot draw concrete conclusions and links between men or women and the represented sex of the figurines as grave goods.

V. EBA FIGURINES AND SOME ASPECTS OF MANUFACTURE

V a. Use of material in the total sample according to region (app. G: Fig. 39, 40, 41)

Starting with the whole recorded sample, we can determine which were the preferred materials used for the production of figurines in the EBA Aegean. Figure 40 shows that marble ranks highest (59%), while clay, the material which characterised Neolithic figurine manufacture now accounts for only 21% of the total. The third material is stone (other than marble) and pebbles which represent 13% of the whole (calculated together for Fig. 40). Bone (3%) and shell (1%) are two other materials that were rarely used in the EBA for the production of figurines and which together represent a small proportion of 4%. Other materials that appear as exceptions in my sample include alabaster, crystal, ivory and metal, each amounting to 1% or less of the sample and their use is mainly restricted to Crete (with the exception of metal). The chi-square test that was performed (Fig. 41) has shown that not all materials were equally preferred for the manufacture of figurines and that marble was, in fact, the most widely used material.

If I now link the areas of the Aegean to the choice of preferred material, the following patterns emerge (Fig. 39). In broad terms, there is a geographical distinction between parts of the Aegean where marble and other stone is preferred over clay (Cyclades, Crete, Euboia and C. Mainland), and those regions where clay dominates the assemblage over marble (E. Aegean, Macedonia, Thessaly and the Peloponnese). As far as the N. Aegean is concerned, Marangou's (C, 1997b) analysis also suggests a similar pattern of material use as in the E. Aegean. Troy and Skala Sotiros (Thassos), however, do not follow the same tradition, since they are sites where stone is preferred to clay (Marangou, C, 1997b). Also bone occurs only at Troy and Poliochni (Marangou, C, 1997b). Another common feature among these regions is that materials such as shell, ivory and alabaster are also in use, while they seem

to be absent from the sites where clay is predominant, perhaps because they fit in better with the tradition of harder materials. Finally, metal figurines have only been recovered in the Cyclades and, as Marangou (C, 1997b) also points out, in Troy.

Conclusion: In the EBA there is an overall shift from the use of clay preferred in the Neolithic to the use of marble and stone. However, there are regional patterns which express a distinction between traditions prevailing in different parts of the Aegean (Cyclades, Euboia, Crete and the C. Mainland on one hand, and the E. Aegean, Thessaly and the Peloponnese on the other). Interestingly, the same broad cultural affiliations between the two regional groups have already become apparent in the type of site and context that figurines were recovered from. The continuation with the Neolithic tradition of clay figurines in these areas, as well as the recovery of these figurines from settlement rather than funerary contexts may indicate that they are more 'Neolithic-like' regarding the use of figurines than other regions of the Aegean. The choice of material, therefore, is symptomatic of a more generalised use and meaning of figurines in different parts of the Aegean that existed alongside each other. In the question of whether the chosen material was a result of availability rather than tradition, I would argue against it. For the N. Aegean, Marangou (C, 1997b) noted that when two materials (bone and clay) are equally available, there is a shift from one to the other. Admittedly, marble is abundant in the Cyclades, but clay had been in use at the LN-FN Cycladic site of Kephala. Moreover, areas such as Crete, Thessaly, the Peloponnese and C. Mainland which in the previous period of the Neolithic yielded predominantly clay figurines, in the EBA show a shift to marble and stone. And this trend is further supported by the fact that, though marble figurines dominate the Cretan assemblage, marble sources are limited on the island (Warren 1969, 134-5), suggesting thus that there was a deliberate shift to marble as a result of emulation of the Cycladic tradition. For this reason, I would argue that figurine manufacturers were making cultural decisions when choosing the material that were not dictated by their physical environment.

A brief comparison with the Neolithic shows two main differences. The first one is that marble and other stone are the preferred materials overall for the manufacture of figurines (although the issue of regional tradition also needs to be addressed). Secondly, in the Neolithic period a greater homogeneity characterised the choice of material and hence production processes in the Aegean than in the EBA when different regions followed

distinct traditions, some of them sharing such preferences which indicate a greater degree of cultural affiliation. The analysis of other aspects of manufacture will elucidate even further whether this shift has implications for the use, gender symbolism and value attached to figurines which cannot be fully supported by the choice of material alone.

V b. Use of material in the total sample according to broad chronology (app. G: Fig. 42, 43)

For the purposes of the analysis, I have subdivided chronology into contextual and typological as in the first and second row of Fig. 42 under each material category.

I will start the discussion with the materials that date to EB I: clay, marble, other stone, metal, bone, crystal and shell. The main basis for the argument is the typological dates, though the contextual chronology more or less supports the same pattern. In EB I/II and II all of the above materials continue to be used, apart from metal. A new material, however, that is in use from EB II is ivory. In EB III, clay, marble, other stone, bone and crystal continue to be used, as well as ivory. Alabaster is a new material in use, while shell seems to be absent from the record.

If we now look at each phase and relate it to the material preferred for the manufacture of figurines (Fig. 43), we find that in the period covering the end of the Neolithic and EB I clay seems to be preferred, following the tradition prevailing in the Neolithic. In the early part of the EBA a new trend emerges in which marble and stone replace clay, the *par excellence* Neolithic material. In the transitional (on the basis of typological dates) I/II phase, again marble and (other) stone are the predominant materials used, which continue to be preferred in EB II. EB III, however, is characterised by a higher degree of variation in the use of materials, with marble, bone and (other) stone being used in almost equal proportions. I should also note that the increase in ivory corresponds to the marked increase of bone in EB III.

Conclusion: In the EBA marble and stone predominate throughout. Other materials worth noting include metal in EB I, as well as ivory with an increasing trend from the EB II onwards. By comparison with the Neolithic period, the EBA in general shows a preference for harder materials which not only coincides with a stylistic change (not dictated by the use of the material), but also has implications concerning the more complex stages that separated the moment of the procurement of the raw material (more in the case of ivory than marble) from the final ownership and use of the finished figurine. We need to be cautious, however, because experiments have shown that the procurement of marble (beach pebbles for smaller figurines, Oustinoff 1984, 39) and its working for the simpler forms of figurines (estimated five hours for violin-type figurines, Oustinoff 1984, 39) suggest that simpler types would not have required a greater effort for the manufacture than some of their more carefully-executed clay counterparts.

V c. Use of material in the total sample according to site type (app. G: Fig. 44)

Materials that have been recovered from BS only, include alabaster, crystal, ivory and metal. Materials that have been found in both BS and OS are: bone, clay, marble, shell and (other) stone. Moreover, clay and shell also turn up in CS. At the site of Ayia Irini on Kea, where the recovered figurines originally belonged to a settlement (OS/snct?) [according to Renfrew's proposed interpretation for the practice of domestic cult (1984, 27)] marble was the preferred material, as was the case for the vast majority of Cycladic sites.

Conclusion: Certain materials are tightly linked to their use in a particular type of site, e.g. ivory (BS) or clay (predominantly OS). Evidence, however, from Crete and the Cyclades suggests that figurines circulated in the living spaces of OS and were repaired before they were placed inside burials. I would argue, therefore, that the emerging patterns reflect more the recovery of figurines in particular regions and the prevailing tradition regarding their typology and use, rather than a predetermined choice related to the figurine circulation in a given category of site. Similarly, a brief comparison to the Neolithic shows that the homogeneity of clay figurines and their circulation mainly in OS did not point to any preferential use of material in relation to the context of circulation and deposition.

V d. Use of material in relation to how the body is rendered (app. G: Fig. 45)

In this section I will examine whether the use of a material determined the form of the figurines or whether their typology was the result of cultural ideals. Figure 45 presents how the typology I developed to describe the rendering of the figurine body (also applied on the Neolithic figurines) relates to the choice of the material.

As with the Neolithic figurines, the material did not determine the shape of the figurine. This point is illustrated by the use of clay (along harder materials) to model the schematic variations of figurines. Moreover, harder materials (e.g. stone and marble) are used along with clay to render the comparatively more naturalistic forms of figurines. The fact that the typological repertoire of the EBA shows a lesser degree of variation, does not detract from the fact that the use of material did not determine the shape of the figurines and the way the human body was modelled.

Conclusion: Anthropomorphic figurines and their shapes were more the product of the cultural ideals prevailing in the Aegean and the forms they carried reflected more the degree of creative freedom of the manufacturer and the fluidity or restriction that characterised the movements of social agents, metaphorically and physically. Finally, figurines from the EBA, in comparison to their Neolithic counterparts, were mainly represented as well-balanced bodies, unlike the more corpulent variations in the preceding period. Such shifts in the rendering of the human body (especially the female body) reflect the way the 'ideal' regarding the embodiment of social identity changed from one period to the next, which has implications for the understanding of gender in EBA society. If we dismiss the idea that dietary changes may have had an impact on the physiology of the body, we may then be dealing with a change in the symbolism in which the body was perceived as socially acceptable, even when certain figurines clearly represented pregnant women.

V e. Use of material in relation to 'sex' categories (app. G: Fig. 46, 47)

The general impression is that Asexual figurines are the most common category of represented theme for most materials. Asexual representations dominate the assemblages of bone, clay, crystal, metal, pebble, shell and stone figurines. Admittedly, in most cases the samples representing a material (metal and pebble) are too small to draw concrete associations with 'sexed' categories. Nevertheless, the results based on the use of materials verify again the fact that Asexual representations are the most widely executed theme in terms of material in the EBA.

When figurines did not represent schematic forms, they took the shape of general female bodies either with clear female anatomical features (Female) or with implied characteristics (i.e. Female form). Such is the case with marble, ivory and alabaster figurines. The clearest example is offered by the case of marble Female figurines which, as we have already established, were predominantly recovered from Cycladic or Euboian sites. The pattern for Cycladic figurines and Cycladic-type figurines, therefore, again shows a trend that differs from the rest of the Aegean. It is in this Cycladic context that M figurines were made in the medium of marble. PM representations from the Peloponnese, Crete and Euboia, in all but one case, were made of marble or stone. The final category of 'sexed' figurines is that of Ambiguous figurines, the majority of which are again made of marble and come from the Cyclades, though the assemblage also includes a clay E. Aegean specimen and a marble one from Crete.

Conclusion: We cannot argue that the hardness of materials preferred in the EBA over more malleable ones dictated the schematic, Asexual forms of the figurines. The predominance of Asexual figurines was not the result of the inability of the manufacturer to denote the anatomical features in the employed material. The reason I argue this hypothesis is because (a) Asexual figurines account for the majority of the soft material of clay, and (b) the harder marble was used mainly for the representation of clearly marked female bodies. It was a deliberate decision, therefore, taken by the manufacturer to represent Asexual bodies according to the prevailing symbolism and tradition of his/her society, a trend that had already started in the LN with more abstract representations in association with the use of marble (see *Chapter 5*: *III e*). The reasons for that decision could be the fact

that a summary human form was adequate for the purposes of figurine use, or that the shift from the prevailing Neolithic female representations reflect a deeper ideological change that took place in the EBA period as a result of social transformations. We would be wrong, however, to generalise our conclusions for the whole of the Aegean. The case of the Cyclades, especially, demonstrates that even when the same material, marble, is used, as in other parts of the Aegean (Crete, Central Mainland, Peloponnese), there is a preference for modelling female bodies. Interestingly enough, the same tradition seems to be followed in the case where Cycladic-type marble or stone figurines were manufactured outside the Aegean, as in Euboia and Crete. A number of suggestions can be put forward to explain why Cycladic figurines take mainly a female form. Such representations may have ideological roots or they may be expressing a concern regarding the issues of exogamy and the role played by women in a social environment where the search for marital partners outside the kinship boundaries was crucial for the survival of the small Cycladic communities (see Broodbank 2000, 153, 173), in contrast to the bigger Euboian sites, however, where the same constraints would not have operated.

V f. Size in relation to 'sex' categories (app. G: Fig. 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56)

Figures 48 and 49 show the number and proportion of figurines according to broad dimensional groups. In Fig. 48 the first table presents the dimensions on the basis of complete or almost complete figurines. The results in Fig. 49 show that out of the sample of complete figurines, over 60% range between 1-10cm. Figurines between 11-20cm form a considerably lower proportion and account for almost 20% of the assemblage, while those between 21-30cm make up around 18%. A very low proportion measures over 30cm and these figurines obviously constitute the exception rather than the norm. Notably, figurines over 60cm are not included in my assemblage and we should not expect, therefore, that the manufacture of oversized figurines was a common practice in the EBA Aegean. The above pattern is also supported by the two last tables of Fig. 48 where the results are based on measurements of fragmented figurines and again verify that the majority of figurines ranged between 3-10cm. Very few fragmented figurines measure over 10cm (four in total), and these, as discussed later, represent mainly Cycladic specimens. More importantly, the

preference for figurines measuring between 1-10cm is supported by the statistical analysis presented in Fig. 50.

Figure 51 shows that the highest proportion of figurines between 1-10cm represents mainly Asexual forms, followed by Female form and very few Probably Female figurines. Notably, no Male figurines are included in this group. As we progress to the groups from 10cm and over, Female figurines always represent the majority, followed by Asexual figurines. Interestingly, the only two figurines that range between 50-60cm are both Female. Note also that only one M figurine is included in the sample. The statistical test performed in order to explore whether all sex categories were preferred equally for the predominate range of 1-10cm has revealed that there was a bias towards Asexual figurines. The statistical test in Fig. 54, however, indicates that in the case of figurines exceeding 20cm Female figurines represented the majority.

If we now compare the results regarding figurines over 20cm to their area of recovery (Fig. 53, 56), we find that they mainly represent Cycladic figurines (see also Renfrew 1984, 29 on his interpretation of large EC figurines as possible cult images), followed by a few Cretan, one Euboian and one from the C. Mainland. In terms of chronology, statistical analysis (Fig. 55) has shown that the highest proportion of figurines measuring over 20cm date to the EB II phase. Female figurines over 20cm, seem to be more common in EB II and possibly later. The Asexual taller figurines were recovered mainly from Crete in EB I and I/II, and the size of Asexual figurines would seem to drop from EB II onwards, while three complete Female figurines, as well as two fragmented Female ones over 10cm, seem to suggest that there may have been a shift in the represented sex and their size. As far as M figurines are concerned, all have come from the Cyclades and date mainly to EB II. Finally, Ambiguous figurines measuring over 20cm were also found in the Cyclades, in EB I and II-III contexts.

Conclusion: The analysis shows that a regional pattern operated in the Aegean. What I conclude, therefore, is that the Cyclades more than other regions followed the tradition for larger figurines (see results in Fig. 56), although an Asexual menhir-type figurine has been recovered from Skala Sotiros on Thassos (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1988, 1991). Such dimensions were unusual for figurines from Crete, Euboia, the Peloponnese and the C.

Mainland, while large figurines were completely absent from the areas of the NE Aegean, Thessaly and Macedonia. The other pattern that emerges is that figurines of a larger than average size tend to represent female bodies, which again is linked to the tradition followed in the Cyclades.

These patterns can lead us to two hypotheses. The first one is that figurines in certain parts of the Aegean (mainly the Cyclades) expressed ideological meaning in a more monumental, visible way with an emphasis in the EB II. Secondly, these Female figurines of a higher stature have implications for the understanding of the ideological symbolism regarding gender roles. I should point out here, however, that in the rare occasions that M figurines were modelled, they too tended to exceed 10cm. Asexual figurines, on the other hand, recovered from the Cyclades are of a much smaller size (possibly representing children?). The Cyclades, therefore, stand out again as an area where the bigger stature of the figurines from EB II onwards implies that they expressed ideological symbolism in a form that attracted visual attention. Moreover, unlike other parts of the Aegean where we should imagine figurines being carried around by their owners in the course of their daily activities, in the case of the Cyclades that would have been more difficult. Perhaps they stood in niches inside walls [as we have already discussed in relation to burials (see Doumas 1977, 63)] or they were used statically as a focus of attention. Though we cannot argue that smaller figurines found inside settlements in other parts of the Aegean had less of an ideological importance, the case for the Cyclades suggests that the size of the figurines indicates a difference in use, if not function of these figurines.

A brief comparison with the Neolithic shows that there was a shift from a preference for Asexual and Female form figurines measuring over 20 cm, to exclusively Female ones in the EBA period. Though that should not be viewed as a rise of women's social or symbolic status necessarily, it is however an indication that female more than other 'sexed' representations may have played the prominent role in the sphere of ideological symbolism in the EBA Aegean, despite interpretations that have been put forward to argue for a diminishing social status of women.

VI. EBA FIGURINES AND GENDER SYMBOLISM

In this section, as in *Chapter 5*, I will explore how gender and gender-related ideas are represented through the medium of figurine manufacture. As already discussed, I have developed a typological schema that describes the varying degrees in which figurines represent the anatomical human body. The aim of this exercise is to systematically isolate and identify the form that the 'sexed', asexual, or even Ambiguous figurine bodies took in order to reveal the cultural ideas surrounding gender and its representation. In order to compare Neolithic and EBA figurines systematically and on an equal basis, I have employed the same typological categories (not all are present in the EBA, however) to both sets of data.

VI a. Anatomical attributes and the representation of the 'sexed' body (app. G: Fig. 57, 58)

Figure 57 presents the degree of variety and emphasis in which selected parts of the body are rendered in the EBA period according to each 'sex' category. In Fig. 58 I have focused on those parts that I have considered as primary or secondary 'sex'-related attributes. These associations will reveal what features of the physical body were emphasised or played down through the modelling of 'sexed' figurines which carries important implications for the understanding of gender construction in EBA culture in the Aegean.

I will start by focusing on the breasts. The obvious category with the highest proportion being represented with breasts is Female, although a small percentage demonstrates that the female body was occasionally modelled without that female-associated attribute. The other curious category is that of Ambiguous figurines, the upper part of which bear breasts, when the genitalia take the form of a phallus (see table for pubic area in Fig. 58). Apart from the two cases of one Female form and one M figurine which indicate a more pronounced modelling of the chest (the relative comparison with the more prominent modelled breasts on Female figurines of the same assemblage suggests to me that they were unlikely to

represent breasts), the remaining categories are characterised by an absence of breasts, particularly relevant for the category of Asexual figurines.

Moving on to the abdomen area, the vast majority of the EBA figurines, regardless of their anatomy, are modelled with flat abdomens in a very lean style. Figurines with an accentuated, swollen abdomen all belong to the Female-related types. For that reason, these swollen abdomens found on Female figurines could be interpreted as representing pregnancy, especially as the rest of the body of these figurines did not express obesity. Less often, abdomens take a rounded form which is shared with the Female-related, as well as the Asexual and Ambiguous categories. Notably, all the M figurines are modelled with a flat abdomen. Finally, the marking of the navel seems to be associated more with Female figurines, although it cannot be used by itself as a female attribute.

Hips are another part of the body, the modelling of which demonstrates varying degrees of accentuation. The category that is mostly represented with accentuated hips is the Female form one and illustrates why, even though those figurines lack the most obvious sexual characteristics of the female anatomy, are characterised by a general 'female' outline. As far as Female figurines are concerned, they are almost equally divided between those that bear accentuated hips and those that do not, which would suggest that when the breast or the pubic area is modelled, the accentuation of the hips becomes a less determining attribute. The majority of M and Asexual figurines, on the other hand, are modelled with de-emphasised hips. Asexual figurines, therefore, could be representing either different stages in a woman's life or male bodies by default. Which of the two possibilities is stronger will be explored later in relation to the decoration. Finally, the Ambiguous figurines may or may not be modelled with the added emphasis on the wide hips, which further indicates their cross-gender quality.

A much lower proportion of figurines is represented with accentuated buttocks than in the Neolithic period (which will be discussed in greater detail in *Chapter 7*). When the buttocks are accentuated or rounded, however, they characterise mainly Female figurines. More often, buttocks are modelled with no emphasis, although in the case of Asexual figurines they seem to be deliberately absent.

Finally, the pubic area shows a variety in the way it was modelled on Female-related categories. Apart from the obvious demarcation of the "pubic triangle" or "pubic triangle and vulva" and "vulva", alternative ways in which female genitalia were modelled also took the form of a V or "V-shaped & vulva". I have reached this conclusion by comparing how male genitalia were depicted typologically in the context of EBA Aegean figurines, but also by the fact that the V incision on the pubic area has been found on Female figurines, identified by the obvious presence of breasts or the additional modelling of the vulva. If I now relate the modelling of the pubic area to the represented sex of the figurines, the results show that the vast majority of Female figurines did bear the attributes of female genitalia, although some did not, when the presence of the breasts was sufficient to denote their 'sex' identity. Female form and Asexual figurines, on the other hand, had no such added attributes, as was the case with the modelling of breasts, apart from the few cases where it is not clear whether the pubic area was marked. The M and two PM figurines are characterised by the modelling of the phallus. Finally, the Ambiguous figurines are also represented with male genitalia, while their upper body bears breasts.

Conclusion: The presence and modelling of 'sex'-related features was a deliberate decision taken by the figurine manufacturer. The most common attributes used to denote the 'sex' of the figurines were the breasts and genitalia. In the absence of such features, other secondary characteristics (accentuated hips or 'pregnant' abdomens) were employed, though buttocks were a less important feature in the modelling of the human body. It becomes apparent, therefore, that the representation of anatomy played an important role in the process of figurine manufacture. The reason must be that the 'sex' that these anthropomorphic figurines communicated was meaningful to the owner of the figurine, but also to the wider community that used them. Moreover, on a different level, figurines which were clearly marked as anatomically female or male allow us to understand that in EBA society the physical body must have played an important role in the way gender identity was constructed, as is the case in most ethnographic case studies. As far as the Asexual figurines are concerned, as has become apparent with the Neolithic figurines, there are links that could be drawn with more concrete represented sex identities as expressed through the employment of decoration. Moreover, I doubt they represented a third gender since they are too numerous to account for a category that has been proven to be rare and restricted cross-culturally (see Herdt 1994, 22, 55, 80).

Finally, a quick look at the Neolithic and EBA results concerning the representative repertoire of the human body shows the following trends. The first point is that the same 'sex' categories continued in the EBA without a break, particularly important for the Female form, Asexual and Ambiguous types. Secondly, there seems to be a lower degree of variation in the way the bodies were modelled overall, which would suggest a higher standardisation in the EBA period in relation to the modelling of the body and the ideas surrounding the 'ideal' embodied gender identity. Thirdly, the lower degree of variation for the EBA period is accompanied by a diminished focus on certain aspects of the body, such as the abdomen and the theme of pregnancy, but also on the hips and buttocks which in the Neolithic were far more prominent, especially in relation to Female figurines. This shift in modelling practices and focus would imply, therefore, a higher degree of consensus surrounding the embodiment and representation of gendered actors, but also a higher control (material or ideological) over the production of such images, especially in the case of Cycladic figurines. In addition, this increased homogeneity of the represented sex in the shape of figurines may be indicating that in the EBA we can detect a shift from self-projecting modelling to a more standardised and mechanical manufacturing process. If we assume that the element of self-projection points to women as the manufacturers of figurines in the Neolithic period, the absence of it in the EBA may in fact be symptomatic of a shift to men as the main figurine producers.

VI b. Posture and the body as figurine language

➢ Range of postures presented by figurines (app. G: Fig. 59)

Figure 59 presents the repertoire of the basic postures that I have categorised. The majority of the figurines were represented in a flat pose that has been interpreted as either "standing-up", erect (Renfrew 1991, 92-94) or "reclining" (Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 52; Gill & Chippindale 1993, 655-656). Apart from five figurines in the seated posture, the kneeling or squatting stances that were common in the Neolithic period are absent from the EBA assemblage. Few figurines were modelled as sitting on a stool, and even fewer sitting on a chair (I intentionally avoid the term "throne" which carries social implications, not

necessarily founded). In the majority of cases the arms were modelled folded on the abdomen or below the breasts, and less often extended, a pattern that is related to regional traditions that influenced the typology of the figurines, as I will discuss later. The arms and hands can be seen in more variations, as becomes evident in Fig. 59, although they represented less common postures. Legs and feet were always portrayed attached to each other with no variation, unlike models in the Neolithic period. Finally, there are four postures of particular interest, two of which have already been noted in the Neolithic, that of the "bearer" and a possible "kourotrophos". Two other thematic postures are new and characteristic of the EBA period and they represent musicians holding an instrument (one standing flautist and six seated harpists), as well as two sets of double figurines. The implications for the understanding of gender will be discussed at a later point.

Finally, drawing a broad comparison with the Neolithic period, the EBA shows a higher degree of formality, rigidity and standardisation which suggests an increased control over the circulation of ideas surrounding gender embodiment and the manufacture of figurines. Moreover, there is far less postural emphasis on the represented sex or reproduction-related parts of the body and the theme of birth-giving is altogether absent from the EBA sample. The newly introduced postures of the musicians, however, could be indicative of the central role that social status in association with gender played in (some) EBA Aegean communities. In addition, the rigidity that characterises EBA figurines should be viewed as symptomatic of more fixed gender embodiment in comparison to the more 'fluid' Neolithic models.

➢ **Posture variations in relation to geographical area** (app. G: Fig. 60)

Starting with the 'standing up' figurines, it is the most common pose featured by the assemblages of all parts of the Aegean. If we look at the general seated postures and its variations, we find that they mainly concentrate in the areas of the Cyclades primarily, followed by Euboia, Crete and only one from the Peloponnese. The Cyclades, Euboia and Crete, as I have already noted, are the regions that show a degree of imitation in the manufacture of Cycladic-like figurines and that is again reflected in the featured postures.

However, the two figurines modelled as seated on chairs have been recovered only from the Cyclades. Those seated on stools again are mainly of Cycladic origin, but here we can also add those from Euboia and one from Crete. A similar regional pattern can be argued for the position of the arms folded below the breasts or on the abdomen, and to a lesser degree for the hands meeting on the chest or resting on the abdomen. As far as the position of the arms is concerned, however, parts of the Central Mainland and the Peloponnese also seem to have followed the same tradition. On the other hand, the posture of the raised arms seems to be characteristic of the NE Aegean, while the modelling of extended arms, despite the focus on the NE Aegean, is more common on parts of the mainland and less so in the Cyclades and Crete. As far as the postures of the "bearer" and the possible "kourotrophos" are concerned, both came from Crete, while the musicians are strictly restricted to the area of the Cyclades. The two double sets of figurines have been found in the Cyclades and Crete.

Conclusion: Regionality seems to have been a defining factor in relation to the postures of the figurines. The Cyclades show stronger affinities with Crete and Euboia and possibly to a lesser extent with the Peloponnese and the C. Mainland. Though in the case of Euboia the intention to imitate Cycladic forms is evident, in the case of Crete, we need to distinguish between the Cycladic-type figurines and the Cretan developments as a result of cultural influence between the two regions. The NE Aegean, however, differs from the above mentioned areas in the repertoire of postures, in addition to all the other differences that relate to the material and context. On the other hand, Thessaly and the C. Mainland seem to portray a degree of similarity with earlier Neolithic forms. These regional patterns in relation to the postures of the figurines should not be viewed simply as traditions that were unintentionally followed by the prehistoric manufacturers; on the contrary, the range of postures and their thematic repertoire reflect and embodied how communities conceived the socially acceptable way that gendered people should carry themselves. One clear illustration is the differentiation between women represented mainly with folded arms, while men (as well as Asexual figurines) were modelled as musicians, which will be discussed in the next section. Finally, the fact that the EBA figurines are characterised by a much lower degree of freedom of movement in the modelling of their bodies also suggests that a higher level of control may have been active over the manufacture of these figurines. This restriction of the socially acceptable ways in which gendered figurines were modelled in turn indicates a tighter restrain and a deliberate manipulation of the images that

circulated in the arena of ideology and social action, perhaps mirroring the social restriction of expression at the level of actual people. Furthermore, the regional similarities and differences illustrated by the postures adopted in figurine manufacture reflect an ideological overlap or distance concerning the socially accepted 'movement' of gendered and social actors in the communities in which these images circulated.

- **Range of posture in relation to chronology and type of site** (app. G: Fig. 61)

For the next stage of analysis I wish to explore how the posture of the figurines is associated to the type of site. I have employed the chronological schema on the basis of figurine typology as I would like to focus on the range of postures that were preferred at the time of their manufacture. Despite certain problematic aspects related to the Cycladic schema, I think that we can still detect general chronological trends.

Figure 61 shows how the general variety of postures is broken down in relation to the type of site and their date. Starting with the 'standing' posture, the majority of the figurines have been recovered from BS, though OS are adequately represented in the sample. Moreover, in both categories of site, most standing figurines were produced in the EB II. Moving on to the figurines that are seated on chairs or stools, all have been recovered from BS, or "said to be" burial sites (BS?). Unlike the standing pose, therefore, when all the types of site are represented, the seated figurines show a strong association with funerary contexts, as well as the curious site of Keros. In the case of Keros, however, the majority of the figurines were modelled "standing up" (Renfrew 1991, 92-94) or reclining (Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 52; Gill & Chippindale 1993, 655-656), despite the unusual form of the harpist. As far as their chronology is concerned, they all fall in EB II, apart from one that dates to the transitional EB I/II.

If we turn our attention to the modelling of the arms, we find that figurines with raised arms all come from OS and their manufacture dates to EB II. Figurines with extended arms are more numerous in OS rather than BS and they again point to EB II as their time of

manufacture. Figurines with their arms folded on the abdomen or below the breasts in their vast majority have been recovered from funerary contexts and their typology suggests that they were modelled in EB II. The posture of hands meeting on the chest or the abdomen is again primarily associated with BS. The difference is, however, that figurines with their hands meeting on the chest dated mainly to EB I, while those with their hands meeting on the abdomen and circulating in OS dated to EB II, as opposed to those recovered from BS that represent all phases to varying degrees. Figurines with their hands on their waists concentrate mainly on OS and cover chronologically the EB I and II phases. Finally, regarding the 'occupational' postures of the figurines, the "bearer" was found at a burial site, while the "kourotrophos" was recovered from a settlement site. All the "musicians", however, were placed in a funerary context (one comes from the unusual site of Keros) and point to the EB II as the period of their manufacture. The same is also true for the double figurine sets.

Conclusion: The rendered postures of the EBA figurines reflect the regional patterns that have already become apparent mainly between the Cyclades and the NE Aegean and the mainland. That is why postures showing figurines seated, with their arms folded on their abdomen or below the breasts, the hands meeting on the chest but also as "musicians" are not only strictly associated with funerary contexts, but were also manufactured in the Cyclades. It is difficult to argue that these figurines were intentionally modelled in that particular range of postures exclusively for their placement in burials, since we know that figurines circulated in living spaces before they were used as grave goods. On the contrary, I am more inclined to interpret this postural repertoire as reflecting ideas associated with socially accepted ways of representing a gendered image that was symbolically active in a living context. Moreover, chronology shows that the range of postures becomes wider in EB II. Also the fact that figurines with the same postures (seated on stool, arms folded on the abdomen or below the breasts) are placed in the same type of contexts in areas outside the Cyclades, as on Euboia and Crete, has implications regarding the symbolic meaning that was carried by these gendered images. On the other hand, particularly the area of the E. Aegean shows a preference for figurines that were modelled in the standing pose and with the arms raised, extended or resting on the waist. Not only are they not portrayed as seated, but the arrangement of the arms is also different to that preferred in the Cyclades. Though both areas have produced equally limited ranges of accepted postures, figurines from the E.

Aegean seem to be characterised by a more dynamic and 'free' modelling of the arms. I would argue that, as we will see in the following section, such differences in the rendering of the posture, has implications regarding the place of gender in society and how that gendered behaviour was embodied in parts of the Aegean. Furthermore, the fact that "musicians" are not modelled in areas outside the Cyclades, would suggest that such occupational representations reflected not only the symbolic dimensions of the figurines, but also the role that certain activities played in the life of these communities. This does not mean that music was not played in other Aegean societies; in the Cyclades, however, it was chosen as an activity that carried a special meaning in the ideological sphere and/or was tightly linked to the construction of social status in these island communities.

➢ **Posture ranges in relation to 'sexed' figurines** (app. G: Fig. 62)

Figure 62 shows how each posture category is broken down in relation to 'sex'. The reason for this comparative analysis has been to examine how the postures and their suggested degree of freedom of 'movement' reflect how gender was embodied and constructed in the EBA Aegean.

The standing pose was the most common way of modelling all 'sexed' images, especially for Ambiguous figurines which is the only way of modelling. The two figurines sitting on chairs belonged to the Male and Female categories. Figurines sitting on stools too encompassed Female, Male, but also Asexual figurines. We cannot support, therefore, the argument that only male figurines were seated and hence held a higher status in society (see Getz-Preziosi 1987, 20, 22-23). The lack of any discussion in the literature about female seated figurines is not a result of misidentification (deliberate or not) of female models. Rather, the reason seems to be a denial on the part of archaeologists to acknowledge the existence of such 'powerful' and imposing female representations. The distinction, however, in the category of seated 'musician' figurines is that only Male figurines are represented as holding the harp, while the other half are termed as Asexual. Again, the argument that exclusively male figurines were portrayed as playing instruments is not supported by concrete evidence (Getz-Preziosi 1987, 22). The fact that Asexual figurines

may have represented individuals of a pre-pubescent stage leaves open the possibility that they may have represented young women, or even the fact that the rendering of the anatomical features of the figurine were not of central importance.

As far as the position of the arms is concerned, the raised or extended arms were mainly modelled on Asexual figurines. The interesting point is that even though we could characterise this posture as more dynamic, it is not, however, found on Male figurines. The figurines which have their arms folded on the abdomen or below the breasts are strongly associated with anatomical female representations. Asexual and Ambiguous figurines have also been modelled in this fashion which could be taken as a conceptual link between Female and Asexual, or Ambiguous figurines. Note that none of the M figurines are rendered with folded arms. A similar argument can also be drawn from figurines with hands that meet on the chest or on the abdomen, a posture shared between mainly Female and Female-related representations, but also Asexual and Ambiguous. Finally, in the case of figurines that occur in double arrangement (more than one figurine modelled together in the same composition) the same 'sex' is denoted (Female and Asexual) and all have their arms folded on the abdomen. The majority of the "musicians", on the other hand, despite their association in the literature with male representations, in fact portrayed either Probably Male or Asexual figurines, which undermines the argument expressed in the past that these were occupations that expressed the special status of men in Cycladic society.

Conclusion: Standing and sitting postures do not have an exclusive association with Female or Male figurines. The fact that Female figurines have also been modelled sitting on a chair and on stools, goes against these interpretations that have supported the social superiority of men in the EBA society on the basis of selected evidence. The idea, therefore, that the matriarchal Neolithic society was transformed into a male-dominated system needs to be reviewed, since neither the burial record nor the eidoloplastic evidence supports such scenarios. A similar critical approach is also required for the study of figurines representing "musicians". Not all of them are male; it is a possibility that the Asexual figurines may have expressed conceptually the same gender, but that is a scenario that we impose on the assemblage for the sake of the argument, and not an intentional choice of the figurine manufacturer. In addition, past interpretations have included in their discussion figurines of unsafe provenance which would probably have distorted the analysis results, a practice that

I have systematically been avoiding in my research. Bearing those cautionary points in mind, if we consider the possible identities that Asexual figurines may have expressed, we need to leave open the possibility that the occupation of the "musician" was not exclusively associated with men. As far as the modelling of the figurine arms are concerned, their folding is associated mainly with anatomical female representations. If we accept that certain aspects of the embodiment are understood cross-culturally, then I see that posture as expressing restriction of movement, as if the figurines hold their bodies in place in fear of losing physical control. Such body language suggests that female gender may have been associated with the imposition of a restriction of physical movement, and hence behaviour. Perhaps women were under the rule of strong social codes that restricted and imposed an accepted way of conduct. It is possible that such restriction of movement may be reflecting an actual restriction over women's activities in a social context that prized its members as marital partners that could have ensured the next generations of the community, but also its necessary alliances with its neighbours. Interestingly, the idea of motherhood is not expressed through female figurines (i.e. Female "kourotrophoi"), unless one takes the double figurine arrangement (one identical small figurine resting on top of the head of a larger one) to be a representation of a woman and her daughter. As far as male representations are concerned, we can only suggest that they held a position in society as 'entertainers' (not exclusively), perhaps in ritual services, without excluding other roles. Men's warrior status still remains to be proven when male warrior burials or male warrior figurines from secure contexts will be able to support such a hypothesis. Until that day, I cannot support the argument that male figurines represented warriors in a male-dominated EBA society, despite the existence of an early sketch from the British Museum illustrating a male "warrior" (Fitton 1984, 76-87) (not included in the database).

Finally, the fact that certain postures are shared between Aegean regions indicates that these social values attached to accepted ways of gender conduct were shared to a certain degree between cultural groups. Moreover, the restricted range of postures suggests that tighter social control was active in the modelling of figurines and the construction of gender identity in the EBA Aegean than in the Neolithic. The use of material and the limited and adopted, imitated ways of modelling the human body (especially the female body) suggests that social behaviour was solidified to a higher degree than in the previous Neolithic period. Alongside the evidence indicating symbolic similarities, we should also view different parts

of the Aegean following different patterns of social behaviour as expressed through anthropomorphic representations and their range of postures.

VI c. Decoration and its use

As I have already clarified in *Chapter 5*, the term decoration includes the methods of painting, moulding or engraving, the addition of which altered the otherwise plain surface of the materials. By associating decorated figurines with the sex they represented, I aim to explore the symbolism behind gender, but also the embodiment of gender in EBA society as that is reflected through the medium of figurines.

➢ Decoration and figurines: some general comments (app. G: Fig. 63, 64)

Figure 63 shows the proportion of decorated and undecorated figurines represented in my assemblage. The vast majority (almost 80%) are undecorated, while only 21% bears any signs of added decoration. I should add that in the case of many Cycladic figurines there is evidence to suggest that they were covered in painted motifs or details that rarely survive (Broodbank 1992, 544; Fitton 1989, 17; Getz-Preziosi 1987, 53; Gill & Chippindale 1993, 656; Hendrix 1998, 8, 9, 11; Renfrew 1969, 23). Such motifs denoted and emphasised details such as locks of hair or eyes. On other occasions painted motifs (on unprovenanced figurines) may have represented jewellery, body paint or tattoo marks, even though that is more difficult to prove, considering the lack of such concrete evidence. If we now turn to Fig. 64, we can see how the degree of decoration is represented in each of the areas. In all regions, decorated figurines represent a very low proportion (just below or just above 20%), apart from the area of the Peloponnese where the evidence suggests a more equal relation between decorated and undecorated figurines and that seems to coincide with a clear preference for the use of clay. As I have already pointed out, however, it is difficult to draw meaningful comparisons as far as the Cycladic marble figurines are concerned (possibly also Cretan or Euboian marble figurines), since we cannot be certain of the extent to which decoration has survived for us to study today. Finally, I would like to explain that the

reason for not relating decorated figurines from any given area to a chronological phase is because the available evidence regarding decoration is very restricted.

Conclusion: The majority of figurines in the EBA period did not bear any marks of decoration. We need to bear in mind, however, that the situation may have been different for the Cycladic and Cycladic-type marble figurines which would have been more colourful than their white surface suggests today (Broodbank 1992; Gill and Chippindale 1993). A final point to make is that the proportion of EBA decorated figurines appears to be less than half of those in the Neolithic period. Rather than linking this difference, however, to a change in aesthetics or symbolism, I am more willing to explain it through the shift in the medium preferred for figurine manufacture (from clay to marble and stone) and how that would affect the degree to which decoration would have permeated the material used and hence its preservation through time.

➢ **Use of material and degree of decoration** (app. G: Fig. 65)

At this stage of analysis I have related the use of the material to the aspect of decoration in order to explore whether the choice of the medium for figurine manufacture affected the degree of decoration. Figure 65 shows that the materials that rank quite high in terms of decoration are alabaster, bone and ivory, presumably related to the method of carving. All three materials are fairly soft and that would explain why a high proportion of them bear signs of decoration. Clay is the next category of material that follows which, despite being softer than the above materials, ranks lower as far as decoration is concerned (just over 30%). Marble figurines were also decorated, but at a lower level, though the fact that paint was preferred over engraving or incising (as for alabaster, bone, ivory, clay) means that the evidence was less likely to survive. The same could also be suggested for figurines made of stone other than marble. Finally, materials that do not show any signs of decoration are pebble, shell and crystal.

Conclusion: I am inclined to suggest that the nature of the material, or even the regional tradition, dictated more the method in which decoration was applied on the surface of the

figurine, rather than the choice to decorate or not. The fact, therefore, that marble does not rank high among the most decorated figurines, is explained because paint (the most common method for its decoration) tends not to survive on marble figurines. Finally, the comparison between the EBA and Neolithic period has already indicated (see Fig. 63) that a much higher proportion of Neolithic figurines was decorated overall. I believe that the results, however, are misleading and are more likely to reflect the effect of the choice of material (clay retaining decoration more, incised or painted). To demonstrate this point I have isolated the materials of clay and marble and have compared the proportion (not absolute numbers) of decorated to undecorated figurines in both periods. The results show that the proportion of decorated to undecorated clay figurines in the Neolithic is 46.93%, as opposed to 31.50% in the EBA. Marble decorated to undecorated figurines account for 19% in the Neolithic and 19.20% in the EBA period. Though a higher degree of decoration is indicated for clay figurines in the Neolithic, the marble assemblage of decorated figurines is comparable in both periods. I would conclude, therefore, that despite the higher tendency for clay decorated figurines in the Neolithic, the decreased proportion of decorated figurines in the EBA needs to be viewed as a result of the preference for marble (and other hard materials) and its property not to retain applied decoration.

➢ **Surface treatment of figurines according to 'sex' category** (app. G: Fig. 66)

The reason for associating the two parameters is, apart from establishing the technical skills required for figurine manufacture, to also establish the degree of care invested in the production of the figurines and the resulting implications regarding the 'sex' of the figurines and ideas surrounding the represented gender.

Figure 66 gives an insight into the technical skills employed in the process of figurine manufacture, which include the method of burnishing and the application of slip. All of these methods are also used for the manufacture of ceramics, not only for the purposes of decoration, but also as a way of ensuring durability and a lustrous aesthetic finish. A point that requires clarification, however, is that in the EBA these methods apply only to clay specimens, although polishing would have been part of the finishing stage of marble

carving. If we now examine how the use of such methods relates to the 'sex' categories, we cannot, unfortunately, draw many conclusions due to the lack of evidence. The only possible suggestion is that Female figurines tended to be covered in slip, while Asexual figurines were more likely to be polished. This pattern probably expresses the medium that was chosen for the manufacture of the Female and Asexual figurines. None of the M figurines, however, shows signs of such treatment, although that is most probably the result of the fact that they mainly have been recovered from the Cyclades, where the application of paint was the most common method of surface manipulation and which (as we have already seen) rarely survives.

Conclusion: I would argue that in the EBA methods borrowed from the manufacture of ceramics continue to be in use, but only in regions where clay was still employed for the production of figurines (i.e. E. Aegean, Thessaly, Peloponnese). The implications of this is that in these regions there may have still been an overlap between those involved at some stages of the production of ceramics and those behind the manufacture of figurines. The choice of the preferred material (harder materials rather than clay) and the diminishing importance of methods deriving from pottery-making indicate that we cannot draw the same link between potters and figurine craftspeople in the EBA period, especially for the regions of the Cyclades, Euboia and Crete. Moreover, more stages behind the acquisition of the raw material (especially ivory or marble) separated figurines from their finished form, which is again different from the situation in the Neolithic, possibly implying that more than one group of people may have taken part at different stages of their production. This hypothesis, however, cannot be applied on figurines from the E. Aegean, in particular, since their majority were made of clay.

As far as the argument linking the degree of technical investment to the manufacture of certain 'sex' categories, the evidence, unfortunately, is not enough to support a clear conclusion. Female and Asexual figurines seem to have received a similar degree of surface treatment, unlike the M figurines which had none; however, this may have been the result of their Cycladic tradition. We cannot argue, therefore, that the evidence regarding the surface treatment suggests a differential investment and care of Female figurines over other categories.

VI d. Decorative motifs: symbolism and gender implications

➢ Decoration in relation to 'sex' categories (app. G: Fig. 67, 68, 69)

The aim of this analysis is to establish whether the frequency of decoration for each type of 'sexed' figurine has implications for our understanding of gender identity and how that is reflected through the medium of figurines.

Figure 67 presents the data numerically, while Fig. 68 gives the relative proportions in percentages. The first point we can make is that with all 'sex' categories, decorated figurines represent around 20% of the total assemblage, with Female form decorated figurines reaching the highest proportion (just over 30%) and M figurines have the lowest frequency of decoration (just over 10%). Statistical analysis (Fig. 69), however, has shown that the differences of the results are due to sampling error and that there is no relationship between the use of decoration and the sex categories of figurines.

Conclusion: The results have shown that there is a difference from the Neolithic period, when the use of decoration was associated with the represented sex of the figurine. It is, of course, very possible that the degree to which painted decoration has survived has affected the results. On the basis of the evidence concerning decoration, therefore, I cannot argue for a differential treatment that would suggest contrasting attitudes regarding actual, physical gender embodiment and how that was expressed through the modelling of figurines. A more detailed analysis that follows regarding the motifs that were used on each category, however, will reveal in greater depth whether the decorative repertoire reflects a differential degree of external manipulation of the appearance of gender.

➢ **Use of colour according to 'sex' categories** (app. G: Fig. 70, 71)

The next stage of analysis is to associate the use of colour applied on the figurines with the particular 'sex' categories, in order to explore whether there is a symbolic link related to gender identity. As I have already pointed out, the patchy evidence of colour used on figurines does not allow us to draw any concrete conclusions. I have presented, however, the limited available information concerning the use of colour on figurines in the form of motifs, but also on their whole surface as slip or paint (see Fig. 70, Fig. 71). The scanty evidence shows that in both cases the only categories when colour has survived in the form of motifs are either Female figurines or Female-related. Colour on the wider surface of the figurines, shows that apart from Female and Female-related representations, Asexual figurines were also painted with almost the same colours, i.e. dark (brown or black), red and cream/white. The other point that emerges from this analysis is that the only colours used for the painting of motifs in the EBA period (unlike the greater variety in the Neolithic) are brown-black and red. As a way of illustrating this point, I have used the same categories of colour as for Neolithic figurines, most of which have remained blank for the EBA as becomes evident from Fig. 70 and 71.

Conclusion: The limited available information has shown that colour was applied on figurines in the EBA period, as in the Neolithic, as a way of highlighting certain parts of the represented anatomy of the figurines that were visually important to the audience. In the case of Cycladic figurines, dark paint was used to denote locks of hair or almond-shaped eyes. Less often, traces of colour surviving on the incisions or on other parts of the figurine suggest that colour had been applied only on the incisions or on the wider surface of the figurine as a way of denoting motifs that could have represented body decoration (with an emphasis on the face), clothing or even jewellery. The application of colour, therefore, aimed at emphasising anatomical parts or added features (attire or body decoration) that played an important role in communicating the gender and general social identity that the figurine expressed. The fact that the limited evidence has survived on Female or Female-related figurines only could either be explained as a bias in the archaeological record, or it may be suggesting a preference in the EBA to apply colour on figurines representing women. Male figurines were rarely modelled, as the archaeological record suggests in any

case, while Asexual figurines, which are numerous, may be indicating a genuine disassociation between Asexual representations and the use of colour as a way of expressing motifs. The fact that Female figurines were more likely to be painted is similar to the situation in the Neolithic. We should also remember that Female figurines dominate the Cyclades which may have implications regarding the status that women may have held in these island communities and how that may have been expressed and constructed through external appearance. If we now turn to the application of colour on the wider surface of the figurines, we find that Asexual ones bore the same colours as Female ones. The implications could be either that there is a symbolic overlap between Female and Asexual figurines, or that motifs were indeed applied on the painted surface, especially on cream/white slip, even though such motifs have not survived.

As a concluding comment I would like to point out that the lower level of applied pigment in the EBA period, as opposed to the Neolithic, is again very likely to be the result of the shift from clay to mainly marble and stone in most regions of the Aegean.

- **Use of colour in relation to decorated features, chronology and 'sex' categories** (app. G: Fig. 72, 73)

The range of colours adorning figurines in the EBA period according to the broad chronological phases in which they were applied are summarised in Fig. 72. In comparison with the Neolithic there is a decrease in the range of colours used, as well as in the arrangement of colour combinations. A number of aspects, however, remained similar in both periods. The colours black, red and white, for instance, continue to be used. In EB I one colour (red) appears. It is very possible, therefore, that black and white may have also been used in EB I, but due to technical limitations only one type of pigment has survived on the earlier specimens. In phases II and III, on the other hand, a higher range of colours has been preserved on figurine surfaces, including the main three colours of black, red and white. Another colour which requires special attention is blue (azurite). Though it is not contained in either Fig. 72 or 73, it is known to have been used as a way of emphasising facial features and the pubic areas of some unprovenanced figurines (Hoffmann 2002, 531). Blue pigment was also contained in some bone tubes recovered from graves, which have

been associated with the practice of body painting or tattooing (Broodbank 2000, 248-9; Carter 1994). The absence of blue from provenanced figurines should make us cautious in that respect, but its definite use in other contexts indicates that we should consider it as part of the symbolic colour repertoire of the EBA period. Moreover, the use of blue already from the LN and FN periods which coincides with the advent of embryonic metal working and its copper mineral character (azurite) should perhaps be viewed in the general context of the new technology and the symbolism surrounding it. The wide use of the colour blue, therefore, in the EBA period, when there is a dramatic increase of metal-working and metal objects, may be suggesting an intensification of metals and the associated symbolism at a social level. Furthermore, the fact that bone tubes containing blue pigment on Euboia seem to be suggesting a link with female burials, has deeper implications regarding the associations between the female gender, body painting and symbolic demarcation, as well as metal-working.

We notice that, in stark contrast with the Neolithic period (see app. E, Fig. 56), colour in the EBA period does not seem to have been used emphatically on parts of the body associated with the aspects of sexuality or reproduction (e.g. breasts, abdomen, pubic area). Of course, the degree to which pigment would have survived on the surface of EBA figurines is much lower than for the Neolithic ones and that is a parameter that we always need to be taking into account when analysing figurine decoration in the EBA period. If we now relate the represented sex to the use of colour, Fig. 73 shows that there seems to be a link with Female figurines mainly, since no M or Asexual ones are contained in my results. I do not exclude the possibility that other represented sex categories would have also been adorned with the use of colour, but the evidence is too limited at this stage to extend the argument for the wider EBA figurine assemblage only on speculative grounds.

Conclusion: Despite the continuing use of the main colours (black, red, white) throughout the Neolithic and EBA period, we may be witnessing a decrease in the use of colour combinations at least, if not at the rate of colour decoration applied on figurines. Finally, another likely change occurring in the EBA period is that pigment does not seem to be used at the same level as a medium for demarcating parts of the body associated with sexuality or reproduction, especially on Female figurines, although Female figurines continue in both periods to be the main 'sex' category the surface of which is manipulated through the

application of pigment. These are only provisional results, however, and are heavily affected by other technical aspects that would have determined the preservation of pigment on the surface of figurines.

- **Decorative repertoire, decoded meanings and implications for gender construction** (app. D; app. G: Fig. 74, 75)

For this stage of analysis I have focused on the decorative repertoire that characterises EBA figurines. In order to ensure a systematic study of both Neolithic and EBA figurines, I have applied the same range of coded motifs, as they appear in *Appendix D*. This has also allowed me to trace similarities in motifs between the two assemblages which has implications for the understanding of gender identities in the two periods. On the basis (already explained in *Chapter 5*), therefore, that decoration did not simply improve the visual appearance of the figurine, but expressed details relating to the identity of the represented human form, we can gain an insight into the symbolic ways that social and gender identity was constructed.

Figure 74 presents the full range of motifs that adorn the EBA figurines and, as in the case of Neolithic decoration, I have divided it into the following four explanatory categories (represented by the four columns): body decoration (body painting, tattooing or even scarring), clothing (garments or other forms of general attire, such as belts or caps), clothing or body decoration (when unclear) and jewellery (mainly necklaces). A comparison with the range of motifs adorning Neolithic figurines shows that their EBA counterparts bear a more limited range of motifs. The increase of marble used in figurine manufacture and the fact that painted decoration rarely survives on marble surface could be the explanation for the limited decorative repertoire in the EBA period, among other possible reasons.

If we now turn to Figure 75, I have presented the motifs that are repeated in the assemblage of EBA figurines. The tables include information such as the actual coded motif, the body part that the motifs decorate, the colour used, the method in which it was marked, the represented sex of the decorated figurines, and finally how often the motif in question

occurs in the EBA assemblage. In the case of motifs that expressed body decoration there are no repetitions and hence no overlap between 'sex' categories. Though Fig. 74 has shown that there are motifs that were employed to denote body decoration, they were not, however, used very often to decorate figurines. It is possible that, if we accept that figurines reflected the external appearance of EBA people, body decoration was a less common practice than in the Neolithic. Moreover, apart from one Cycladic figurine, the rest have been recovered from northern parts of the Aegean (Macedonia, Lesbos), Thessaly and one from Crete. Though there is a lack of eidoloplastic evidence from the Cyclades to indicate body decoration as a common custom, the archaeological funerary record has yielded artefacts such as marble palettes related to the processing of colouring substances, metal pins associated with the practice of tattooing or even lumps of ochre that suggest the manipulation of the external appearance of the prehistoric inhabitants of the Cyclades (Broodbank 2000, 249) and even Crete or Euboia.

The range of motifs representing clothing shows a longer list of repeated motifs that were shared between different 'sex' categories. In Fig. 75 I have also included other attributes such as the way hair was modelled. When hair was not short, it was modelled as short locks, as in the case of one Female figurine, or was pulled up at the back of the head, as it appears on one Female and one Ambiguous figurine. Unfortunately, the rest of the figurines cannot be 'sexed' due to their fragmented state and so I cannot draw comparisons between different 'sex' categories and the way hair was modelled. There seems to have been a distinction, however, between hair-styles in the Cyclades which, presumably, expressed different gender identities or even age groups.

Other motifs in the form of modelled features denoted caps worn on the crown of the head in a variety of styles. Interestingly, all cases of 'sexed' figurines (apart from the Probably Asexual specimens) with caps represented Asexual forms with the exception of one Probably Female figurine. Those figurines modelled with a cap have been recovered in areas outside the Cyclades which suggest a regional tradition. Apart from indicating that there seemed to be a convention regarding the attire of gender identities, there is also the suggestion that different regions followed distinct styles of dressing. The majority of motifs, however, represented clothing and general attire, such as 'belts'. A fairly common motif represented bands worn around the waist or hips as 'belts' (b4+, b16, b17, hsl6). It is

a feature that is mainly shared between Female and Female-related figurines and with only one Asexual form. Such similarities could be interpreted as indicating a symbolic overlap between Female and Asexual figurines, though 'belts' could have also been worn by both sexes, if we assume that Asexual figurines also represented men. Alternatively, the symbolic overlap between Female and Asexual figurines could be indicative of the intention of the figurine manufacturer to model women in a seemingly neuter form. A similar overlap between Female, Female-related and Asexual figurines is also expressed through the motif in the shape of double diagonal band in the form of an X (dil9i, Dil9ii). The motif in question occurs mainly on figurines from the NE Aegean, but also occasionally in the Peloponnese and the Cyclades. Another motif (g1) represented a garment that is restricted to Asexual figurines from Crete, another suggestion that regional traditions dictated the costumes worn by prehistoric people in the Aegean. Finally, another motif that is repeated between one Female form and one Asexual figurine is the one representing a diagonal band worn on the torso (dpl24), perhaps indicating a baldric. The presence of the baldric on figurines has been interpreted as an emblem of hunter-warrior status in studies of EBA Cycladic figurines (Fitton 1989, 65, 88; Getz-Preziosi 1987, 20). More importantly, however, the motif that has been interpreted in the EBA period as representing the baldric has (unexpectedly) been detected on two Female figurines, both from the Cyclades, which has important implications for the interpretation of gender roles. Also the same motif taken to be highly suggestive of male hunter-warriors has not been found so far on secure M figurines, unless one wishes to include the sketch from the British Museum as evidence for the existence of such "male-warrior" figurines (Fitton 1984).

All motifs representing jewellery seem to have adorned the neck. Such motifs (rs+, sch1+, sch2i) denoted plain necklaces worn around the neck or more complex multiple strings that hung from the neck down to the torso. The two first motifs and their variations seem to be restricted to the Cyclades, while the last one is found in the area of the N. and E. Aegean. These motifs decorated Female, Female-related and Asexual figurines, but also one M figurine. An interesting suggestion could be that these motifs occur in areas involved in the movement of metals and their processing, such as Thermi in the N. Aegean and the Cyclades. Curiously, Cretan figurines do not bear such features, despite the fact that jewellery was included in EM burials. A possible explanation is that details such as worn

jewellery were painted on Cretan figurines, rather than incised and that is why their traces have not survived.

Conclusion: Motifs were mainly used to emphasise and communicate the social and, therefore, gender identity that the figurines represented. Apart from the modelling of hair or headdress, motifs also rarely denoted body decoration, but more often garments and associated attire. Jewellery was also marked on the figurines, especially worn around the neck. Apart from the one M figurine on which decoration has survived, the majority of the motifs are shared between Female, Female-related and Asexual figurines. A very likely explanation for this symbolic overlap between Female and Asexual figurines could be that Asexual forms were intended to represent the same gender as Female figurines, in a way similar to the Neolithic assemblage. Such conclusions, however, are based on a more limited range of motifs than in the Neolithic which should perhaps make us more cautious. The analysis of decoration, therefore, has shown that figurines allow us to realise that external appearance was manipulated in the process of gender construction. Moreover, attributes related to gender identity were communicated to a wider audience, not only through the physical alteration of the external appearance of prehistoric people, but also through the manufacture of figurines. The form that external appearance of social groups in the Aegean took was also related to the regional traditions and styles that seemed to have prevailed in different parts of the Aegean in terms of headdress, garments or jewellery. Moreover, the fact that figurines and their placement in burials indicates a ritual meaning and use, makes the representations of 'ideal' gendered images even more effective in the process of perpetuating socially acceptable behaviour and dress code. Especially in ideological systems when beliefs are not preserved through the use of writing, images carrying symbolic messages can effectively pass on such social values and attitudes to the next generations.

- **Use of motifs in relation to chronology and regions** (app. G: Fig. 76, 77, 78, 79, 80)

The next stage of analysis involves relating the motifs and their representative symbolism to the figurines and the regions that they have been recovered from, as well to the broad chronological phases of the EBA.

Starting with motifs representing body decoration (see also Fig. 74) the results have shown that in comparison to the Neolithic period (contrast it to app. E, Fig. 67) a narrower range of motifs was applied to figurines as a way of denoting body decoration. The factors affecting the preservation of decoration on EBA figurines cannot be stressed enough, though we need to limit ourselves to the surviving evidence. Keeping that in mind, I would be inclined to propose that perhaps the practice of body decoration may have become less important in the social context of the EBA Aegean, though the funerary evidence of bone tubes containing pigment and the associated tattooing equipment, as we have seen, needs to be addressed. It is possible that either the figurine record is distorted due to the evidential constraints mentioned above, or body decoration was limited only to a certain class of people or gender which would fit in with the restricted inclusion of tattooing implements, marble palettes and pigment inside the burials or with restricted contexts of social use.

As in the case of body decoration, motifs that represented clothing and general attire show a similar decline in terms of the available range. Figure 77 shows the predominance of such motifs in the E. Aegean and on Crete, while the fact that other regions (such as Macedonia, C. Mainland or Thessaly) have not produced any figurines with attire motifs confirms the differences in the tradition of figurine manufacture. In terms of chronology and sex categories, statistical analyses (Fig. 78 and 79) have shown that the evidence does not indicate differential production of attire motifs in the different phases or in relation to the represented sex.

Finally, the representational repertoire indicates that the modelling of headdress was important especially in the regions of Crete and the Cyclades. The majority of the motifs, however, represented mainly the upper body and only on Crete is the pubic area marked as

covered. Interestingly, motifs that denote headdress, x-shaped upper body garment or 'baldric' and 'belts' worn around the waist continue from the Neolithic to the EBA period in the wider Aegean.

Lastly, I will discuss motifs representing jewellery (mainly in the form of necklaces), since those that can be interpreted as body decoration or clothing are too few to offer us a meaningful insight into gender symbolism. As far as the regional distribution of such motifs is concerned, the majority of them adorned figurines from the Cyclades, far fewer from Crete and only two from the E. Aegean. They seem to be absent from figurine assemblages of the rest of the Aegean. In terms of chronology, the majority of the Cycladic figurines date to EB I, followed by EB II, but none correspond to the EB III phase which confirms the pattern of differential application of such motifs in the EBA. With the Cretan assemblage, the majority date to the EB II phase, while in the case of E. Aegean specimens one dates to EB I and the other one to EB II. In the case of the represented sex, Fig. 80 shows that not all sex categories were equally preferred for the application of jewellery motifs with a clear preference for Female form figurines. A final point to add is that most of the motifs discussed here were already used in the Neolithic period and they represented mainly necklaces.

Conclusion: Some motifs continued from the Neolithic period, which could be indicative of some aspects of surviving tradition regarding gender embodiment. A number of differences, however, may suggest that less emphasis was placed on body decoration of sexual or reproduction-related body parts (especially female) in the EBA period, while a higher proportion of figurines was decorated with motifs representing clothing and general attire. The fact that decoration evidence does not reflect the same degree of emphasis on the manipulation of external appearance, may be an indication that women no longer represented the central category against which other genders were constructed and embodied by default. The evidence, therefore, suggest that female gender role or other gender roles did not remain exactly the same as in the Neolithic, but this is discussed in greater detail and in relation to other categories of evidence in *Chapter 7*.

- **Comparison between Neolithic and EBA decorative repertoire: continuation, change and implications for the understanding for gender construction** (app. E; app. G: Fig 81)

It is essential to compare the two assemblages in terms of decoration in order to trace similarities and differences on a level of representation and symbolism. Figure 81 shows which identical motifs are shared between Neolithic and EBA figurines, but also what variations suggest similarities.

Apart from two motifs and their variations that could be interpreted as body decoration or clothing (section 19, z1i-vi; section 17, vpl6i-ii), there is no evidence to suggest that Neolithic and EBA figurines shared motifs that denoted body decoration. None of the motifs that I have recorded from the Neolithic assemblage continued in the EBA period, unless we consider that the two motifs mentioned above actually represent body decoration rather than textile patterns. The fact that only very faint traces and suggestions of decoration have survived on Cycladic marble figurines, does not allow us to explore whether they may have represented body decoration rather than clothing, even though artefacts related to body decoration hint at the custom of altering the physical body. On the basis of the surviving evidence, however, EBA figurines seem to differ from their Neolithic counterparts in that they do not indicate that body decoration was as much a central part in the embodiment of gender or social identity.

If we now turn to features that represented attire, the modelling of a conical or flat hat continued the same from the Neolithic to the EBA period with a tendency to adorn mainly Female or Asexual figurines. Figure 81 presents the motifs that were the same between the two periods, as well as their variations. Another feature regarding the representation of hair shows that hair pulled up above the neck base, but also short hair, was a practice that continued in the EBA period, although the evidence is not adequate to allow us a comparison in terms of the represented sex of the figurines. In addition, it is also possible that the motif vpl11i-iii (section 18) may have represented in both periods long dark locks of hair falling onto the neck and upper part of the back. Though for the EBA we cannot

establish the 'sex' of the figurine, in the case of the Neolithic the motif is limited to Female and Female-related figurines.

Continuing with the discussion of the motifs that represent clothing or parts of the general attire, more motifs suggest similarities between the two periods. A common motif in a range of variations denoted thin 'belts' or bands worn around the waist or hips. Such belts appear in a variety of forms, as Fig. 81 suggests. In the case of motifs b4i-vi (section 1) and b12i-ii (section 1), there is a tendency in both periods to decorate mainly Female-related figurines, though in the Neolithic the same motif has also adorned a considerable proportion of Asexual, but also one M and one Ambiguous figurine. With motif hsl2i (section 2) there is an overlap in the use on Asexual figurines, although in the Neolithic the same motif mainly decorated Female figurines. Finally, the variations representing a band worn at hip level appears in both periods, even though the association with the 'sex' categories differs.

As far as worn garments are concerned, certain motifs have continued into the EBA period, such as cpl1i-vi (section 4), hpl16i-vi (section 10). These motifs indicate either woven patterns of the fabric or its folds as it wraps around the body when worn. Such decoration suggests that the garments in both periods were worn on the upper and lower body as a kind of skirt or apron. If we now examine how the represented sex of the figurines is associated with these motifs, we find that the EBA specimens are mainly Asexual, while their Neolithic counterparts are mainly Female. Another piece of attire in the form of diagonal strings or cross-shaped method of fastening the fabric on the torso is represented by the motifs dil1 (section 5), dil9i-ii (section 5). In this case there is an overlap regarding the association with Female figurines in both periods, even though in the EBA period Asexual figurines have also been found marked in the same way.

Motifs representing jewellery and their variations are shared between the two periods, such as rs1i-vi (section 11), rd2i-iii (section 11), rs3i-ii (section 12), rm7 (section 12), sch1i-vi (section 14) and sch2i-v (section 15). In the majority of cases this type of decoration denoted amulets or necklaces worn around the neck in single or multiple formations. The associations with the represented sex of the figurines have shown that these motifs are not restricted only to one 'sex' category. The evidence suggests that mainly Female, but also

Asexual and occasionally M figurines were decorated in this way. We can argue, therefore, that jewellery in the from of amulets or necklaces was a way of adorning the body that was consistently practised in both periods in the Aegean, though the materials used in the EBA period would have differed from those in the EN and MN, as indicated by the recovery of metal jewellery from funerary contexts in the Cyclades and Crete.

Conclusion: Symbolic themes that would have survived through the use of certain decorative themes in the form of body decoration have not been passed on from one period to the next, unless the bias in the archaeological record in terms of the differential durability of decorative methods has affected the results. It has shown, however, that the main similarities are expressed in the representations of worn attire, garments and jewellery. External features, therefore, were added as a way of constructing and communicating the gender identity of prehistoric people in both periods, although it differed in the EBA period from one region to the other. There is a loose similarity regarding how these motifs relate to the 'sex' categories in the two periods with a main focus on the Female, Female-related and Asexual figurines. In comparison, the Neolithic period suggests a higher degree of variety in the way clothing and body decoration were represented, although this could be interpreted as more the result of a higher degree of regionality that, in turn, influenced local traditions and customs, as opposed to the EBA period when contact between broad cultural groups was more intense and frequent. The EBA period, therefore, may have led to a higher degree of standardisation regarding the embodiment and construction of gender identity through the manipulation of the appearance of the physical body in the broad regions of the Aegean. The additional factor of standardisation in terms of the typology of the figurines (which reflected social conditions) further explains the smaller range of decorative repertoire used in the EBA period. A possibility, of course, is that fabric may have been added onto the figurines (especially the Asexual variety), literally dressing the figurines to render the identity that they were intended to represent and that is why the demarcation of the anatomical features was not considered necessary. Despite the aspects that cannot be securely concluded, the analysis of the decoration has allowed us to establish that motifs were mainly applied in order to express aspects that were related to the lived dimensions of the physical body in the from of hairstyles, attire, and jewellery. Apart from the ideological meaning that figurines expressed in both periods, they also constituted a surface upon

which gender images were played out, serving as educational tools (intentionally or not) in the shaping and enforcement of social identity.

VII. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Figurine manufacture continued unbroken from the Neolithic and into the EBA period and that is why the study of such artefacts allows us to trace cultural changes from one period to the next. Despite the continuation of figurine manufacture in the EBA, there was a shift in the preferred typology. New areas became central in the sphere of figurine production, particularly the Cyclades and the E. Aegean which were almost absent from the earlier Neolithic period, a model also coinciding with the emerging settlement pattern. Another point that needs to be considered is that we should treat the EBA figurine assemblage of the Aegean as a combination and a coexistence of more than one traditions which seems to have become more concrete than in the previous Neolithic period.

If we compare the figurine assemblages from different parts of the Aegean, we find that figurine manufacture in certain regions, such as the Cyclades and the E. Aegean, was at a higher level and thus presumably more central for those communities. As far as chronology is concerned, the highest degree of variation is suggested by the assemblages dating to EB II. Moreover, apart from the stylistic differences regarding the form and modelling of the figurines, the evidence also shows that two different patterns existed at the same time in the Aegean: figurines were placed in burials or circulated in the living contexts of settlements. Such differences, however, should not detract from the fact that figurines may have expressed the same or similar symbolic meaning in these seemingly different societies. We know, for instance, that figurines, before they were deposited in funerary contexts, show heavy marks of handling and that is why we should not exclude the possibility that in the stage where figurines circulated among the living, they may have also expressed similar ideological concerns in different parts of the Aegean.

As to the form that figurines took in the EBA, a higher level of standardisation is evident throughout the Aegean, to a higher or lower degree. On the basis of these more concrete

typological forms, we can detect phenomena such as the importation of actual figurines, as well as attempts at emulation. There is evidence, therefore, that suggests a symbolic overlap regarding the shape, as well as the use of the anthropomorphic figurines between different regions of the Aegean. Such similarities expressed a wider sharing of ideas concerning the identities that these figurines represented, including gender, but also the ideology that they communicated. The implications are that the construction of gender and the behaviour that was associated with gender roles had become more concrete and widespread, in comparison to the earlier Neolithic period.

The choice of material in the EBA also differs from the Neolithic period. The fact that materials such as marble were widely used in the EBA also suggests differences in the groups of people that were involved in figurine manufacture. Unlike clay which is a readily available material, marble may not have always been a local material. In addition, the extraction of marble requires a longer process. Moreover, the set of skills that were needed for the manufacture of the more intricate marble figurines was different and more specialised (Oustinoff 1984) than those required for the processing of clay and thus suggests a higher complexity in the stages leading to the finished product, but also regarding the social groups involved in comparison to the Neolithic. The stylistic and technical traditions (even hybrids and imitations as illustrated by the Cretan Koumasa variety) also suggest that the manufacture of figurines was under tighter social control, either exercised over the craftspeople, or as a result of a more solidified social nexus. This control could have taken the form of actual dictation of what forms figurines were to take, or it could have been the result of a stricter social organisation.

If we now turn to the represented theme of the figurines, we reach the conclusion that, as with the Neolithic, they reflected actual gendered people, possibly as idealised images. Despite the ritual role that figurines may have played, at the same time they bear information that allows us an insight into aspects related to how social identities were constructed and communicated through symbolic material culture. Such aspects relate to the attire of prehistoric people in the Aegean, including jewellery, but also styles of headdress or hair. In fact, the study of such added features has revealed regional styles in different parts of the Aegean at the same time. In addition, posture has also proven useful for the understanding of how gendered actors expressed their identity through their bodies.

It is as this point that, as my analysis has proven, we need to critically review earlier androcentric interpretations of the EBA society. One of the main issues that need to be reconsidered is the perceived male-dominated society where the male warrior played a central role in power relations over women, since no securely provenanced male warrior figurines have been recovered so far. In fact, the baldric motif adorns two female figurines in my assemblage. The other issue relates to the idea that men played a central role in EBA society as reflected by the figurines in the form of musicians. We have seen that not all of them can be termed as male, which leaves open the possibility for the identities that Asexual figurines portrayed. Finally, female figurines have also been modelled as seated, a posture which has been wrongly and selectively interpreted to express a high status for men.

As far as the use of figurines is concerned, their recovery from funerary contexts in most Aegean sites suggests that they had a ritual dimension and carried a symbolic meaning. Funerary evidence suggests that marble figurines were highly prized objects that would not have been owned by everyone. It is possible that they were used as emblems of hereditary status, since in the case of Manika, one marble figurine was recovered from a child burial (Marangou, C, 1992, Fig. 69, p. 418). I would argue, therefore, that marble figurines may be expressing some kind of social and religious elitism, even though figurines made of more perishable materials are likely to have furnished other graves. The fact that marble figurines show signs of handling and mending before they were placed in burials suggests that they accompanied their owners in their living context. Not all of them would have been easily moved, as would have been the case for their Neolithic counterparts. It is more likely that they held a place inside the house which may have constituted a ritual focus. The fact that they later accompanied people to their burials could be an indication that figurines represented a protecting spirit, perhaps in the form of an ancestral or religious figure, among other possibilities. The ritual aspect of figurines can be further supported by the repeated and restricted repertoire of postures which suggests an ordered ideological system. It is possible that especially in the case of the Cyclades, women or womanhood may have played a central role in the shaping of social structures (as marital partners and mothers, which would have ensured the continuation of the community) and this aspect is mirrored in the ritual sphere. As far as Asexual figurines are concerned from most parts of the Aegean, the analysis of decoration has shown that they too (or at least some of them) may

have represented women in a more abstract way. The individuals that these figurines accompanied would have belonged to both genders since spiritual life cannot have been the exclusive concern of men or women. Though I would have liked to establish a link between gendered figurines and gendered people, the available funerary evidence does not allow me to draw such conclusions or pursue this issue any further until we uncover new undisturbed sites with a better resolution.

As far as figurines from Thessaly or the E. Aegean are concerned, their circulation inside settlements should not detract from the possibility that they too had a ritual use, even if they were not later deposited inside burials. A lower level of complexity may have operated for the manufacture of these figurines, however, especially as clay was a common material used in the NE Aegean. Unlike the schematic and highly standardised stone figurines, clay may have been used for the production of figurines that belonged to groups of a lower social status, or were intended for different purposes or contexts. A similar degree of stylistic repetition is also evident, as in the Cyclades, and although their forms differ in their rendering, the evidence does not suggest a differentiation between genders that could contradict the picture from the rest of the Aegean.

I hope that the summarised results mentioned above have indicated the need to rethink earlier interpretations concerning the place that genders held in the EBA period and hence the way in which society was organised on an economic and hierarchical level. The evidence, however, suggests shifts in comparison to the Neolithic period in terms of meaning and use which are further explored in *Chapter 7*.

Chapter 7

SYNTHESIS AND INTERPRETATION: GENDER AND SOCIETY THROUGH FIGURINES

The chapter is structured as follows: Part *I* focuses on a summarised comparison of the figurines from the two periods, which will provide the basis for the following suggestions regarding gender and society in the Neolithic and EBA Aegean. *Parts II* and *III* propose an interpretation regarding gender in Aegean prehistory through the Neolithic and EBA figurines respectively. Finally, Part *IV* considers the implications for prehistoric Aegean research resulting from the suggested interpretations, as well as avenues for future work.

I. COMPARISON OF NEOLITHIC AND EBA FIGURINES

Size of sample: level of production

Statistical analysis (app. G: Fig. 1) has shown that if we include half of the excluded EBA sample, which is likely to be genuine (see *Chapter 6*: *I a, II a*), figurine production was much higher in the EBA period than in the Neolithic. We could conclude, therefore, that despite a tighter control over the production and circulation of figurines in the EBA period, the use of figurines was much more central for the construction and communication of messages related to ideology and social identity than in the earlier Neolithic period.

Provenance: regions of production

A considerable number of EBA figurines was recovered from new production areas, such as the Cyclades and the E Aegean. On the other hand, areas that ranked high in terms of level of production in the Neolithic, such as Macedonia and Crete, are underrepresented in the EBA sample. My explanation for this pattern is that it reflected a shift in settlement choice or even visibility, considering how little is known of EBA Macedonia, for instance. However, I would argue that the Cyclades must have constituted a focal area for figurine production in terms of volume but also wider cultural influence. Moreover, the typological study of the figurines has shown that in the EBA there is a higher degree of segmentation in terms of regional division and typological tradition than in the Neolithic, which can be taken to coincide with more rigid cultural boundaries. At the same time, however, the evidence for the EBA shows that there was a higher degree of intentional emulation of figurines from different Aegean regions which, considering how clearly cultural spheres were marked, bear a stronger meaning regarding the movement and sharing of ideas in contrast to the Neolithic, when we only had the occasional imported figurine.

Chronology

The chronological breakdown of figurines shows that there was an unbroken tradition of figurine production from the earliest phase of Neolithic occupation in the Aegean to the end of the EBA, with some level of fluctuation. Such patterns may be symptomatic of the changing socio-political conditions in which figurines would be called on to perform different roles and with a varying intensity. It is clear, however, that anthropomorphic figurines were an integral part of both Neolithic and EBA society and were closely interwoven with the personal lives of prehistoric people; this forms the basis that allows us to draw conclusions about gender construction and social conditions in the two periods.

Finally, while in the Neolithic there seems to have been a largely synchronous use of figurines at the time of their manufacture, EBA figurines were possibly passed on from one generation to the next as prized possessions that may have carried a value as ancestral

heirlooms or objects of spiritual power. In the case of Neolithic figurines, however, their users do not appear to attach the same symbolic (even material) value to them, at least in terms of ancestry and the notion of continuity.

Contextual aspects: use and circulation

The circulation and deposition of figurines in the two periods shows some striking differences. In the Neolithic, the vast majority of figurines were used in OS contexts and it is not until the LN-FN period that the trend for systematic deposition of figurines in funerary contexts begins and continues into the EBA period. Figurines in the Neolithic and their associations with other finds and features pointing to everyday activities further support the idea that they circulated inside settlements and domestic spaces.

The EBA trend for the deposition of figurines in funerary contexts starts already in the transitional period (Kephala cemetery). Though the occurrence of figurines in cemeteries is very frequent, another coexisting tradition operated in parts of the Aegean in the EBA whereby they were exclusively used in settlements and domestic areas. The plotting of these two traditions in the Aegean suggests a closer affinity between certain areas than others, which points to a lower degree of cultural homogeneity than in the Neolithic when figurines seem to have had the same context of use throughout.

Another difference found in the EBA sample is that the association of figurines with particular categories of grave goods indicate that the material and perhaps also cultural value attached to the figurines (in most parts of the Aegean) was higher than in the preceding Neolithic period.

Material: workmanship, value and communication of ideas

The main difference between the Neolithic and EBA sample is the shift from the use of clay to marble or other stone, though clay was still in use for figurines in selected regions of the

Aegean. This change has a number of implications. The first relates to the availability of the raw material in areas that lacked marble sources, and the labour and skill required for the production of the finished product (see Oustinoff 1984). The fact that clay was readily available for the production of Neolithic figurines, and that (in general) the skills needed would not have been of a high level, contrasts sharply with the situation for the manufacture of EBA figurines. The level of labour investment for the production of EBA figurines, as well as the procurement of the material and stages and conditions involved, suggest a tighter control over the manufacture and circulation of the gender and ideology-related concepts expressed by figurines than in the preceding Neolithic period. Moreover, the fact that marble Cycladic figurines were imitated or even imported in parts of the Aegean further support the suggestion that such cultural ideals were reproduced with a Cycladic focus but were meaningful to the wider Aegean, unlike the situation in the Neolithic.

Representation of sex: implications for gender

One pattern that continued unchanged from the Neolithic and into the EBA is that female figurines far outnumbered male ones, though in the EBA sexless figurines become far more common than in the previous period. A difference can be noted, however, in the way both female and male figurines were deposited. While in the Neolithic figurines circulated in the living spaces, in the EBA the vast majority of such 'sexed' male and female representations (also true for all figurines) were finally deposited in funerary contexts. A common element, however, underlining the pattern in both periods is that the demarcation of the 'sex' of the figurines suggests that (a) gender was constructed on the basis of anatomical features in relation to age, and (b) gender-related material culture, but more importantly gender identity itself, played an important role in the shaping of society and economy in the Neolithic and EBA Aegean.

Technical aspects: implications for gender

There is a shift from the Neolithic to the EBA regarding the techniques employed for the manufacture of figurines, as well as for the treatment of their surface. Since marble was widely used for figurine production, there is already a separation from the technical overlap between the ceramic-related skills and those for clay figurines in the Neolithic. The EBA evidence, therefore, suggests that the manufacture of figurines shifted to being under the control of a separate group of skilled workers. In fact, it has been suggested that the manufacture of figurines and other stone objects, such as vessels, show an overlap between the sculptors of both forms (Getz-Gentle 1996, xiv, 26, 101-2).

The aspect of size shows that in the Neolithic there was a higher tendency for figurines measuring over 20cm. In the EBA, on the other hand, figurines in general tended to be smaller (EC figurines tended to be taller), although exceptional pieces were of a much larger size than in the Neolithic period. Another important difference is that in the EBA period Female figurines were the preferred category for figurines over 20cm, as opposed to the Asexual, Female form and Male figurines in the Neolithic. Finally, another difference between the two periods is that in the Neolithic anthropomorphic figurines and forms (amulets) could have been worn around the neck of their owners suggesting a closer link with the user than in the EBA when figurines may have been more collectively relevant, although a similar link with the owner can also be argued through the inclusion of figurines in EBA burials.

Posture: embodiment and implications for gender

The main change in both periods is that Neolithic figurines show more variety in the repertoire of the modelled posture. In the EBA period some postures discontinued, but also the range of postures became more limited and expressed far more formality and rigidity than in the previous period which, as I have argued, cannot be explained simply through the use of material. The implications of the above changes are that in the EBA (a) figurine production and hence the socially accepted gendered images became more socially controlled, and (b) the way gender was expressed through embodiment shows a higher

degree of standardisation, which may have reflected a greater polarisation of gender roles. Moreover, the fact that some of these images 'travelled' across the Aegean as imported or imitated material culture, suggests that the gender identity being expressed through figurines in the EBA was widely relevant and meaningful to the majority of prehistoric communities.

Another difference is that the postures preferred in the Neolithic, in one way or another, drew emphasis to anatomical parts that demarcated either sexuality or reproductive aspects of gender [breasts, phallus, vulvas, abdomens (occasionally representing pregnancy)]. In the EBA, on the other hand, posture is more formalised, without the emphasis on sex-related anatomical parts. Perhaps the reason for this change may be the result of a shift of focus from biology-based gender construction to a more complex gender identity, interwoven with the additional parameter of social status.

Finally, the EBA period saw the employment of some new postures, which offer us an insight into social occupations and the genders associated with them. The "musicians", for instance, may be taken to express the more complex nature of society in terms of status and occupation. Another point is that the eidoloplastic evidence of the EBA does not support the arguments about social differentiation between men and women in the form of exclusive male musicians, seated male figurines or male warriors. Rather than viewing the EBA period, therefore, as a time when women's status decreased in comparison to the earlier Neolithic, we need to review on a dialectic basis how gender was shaped under the new economic conditions of the EBA.

Decoration: symbolism and meaning

At first glance my results show a higher proportion of decorated figurines in the Neolithic when the application of colour was more common and the range of motifs was far richer than in the EBA period. However, the degree to which colour would have survived on a marble surface is far lower than on clay and that is why the difference regarding the application of decoration in the two periods is misleading. On the basis of the comparative

study of motifs, however, very few remained the same in the EBA period, which could be taken to mean that forms of general attire or body decoration changed between the two periods. The evidence from Neolithic figurines, however, but also EBA grave goods suggests that the dressing of the body and the manipulation of its appearance was fundamental in both periods for the construction of gender identity.

II. NEOLITHIC FIGURINES AND GENDER; A PROPOSED INTERPRETATION

II a. FIGURINES, SYMBOLISM AND GENDER

In this section I focus on the discussion of the figurines as symbolic material culture and the conclusions we can draw regarding gender in the Aegean Neolithic. For the purposes of the interpretation, I cross over from 'sexed' figurines to gender identities, as revealed through the overlapping and contrasting results regarding decoration and embodiment aspects. I have, therefore, equated in the discussion Female, (Probably Female) and Female form (Probably Female form) figurines with women and femaleness, Male (and Probably Male) with men and maleness, Asexual (and Probably Asexual) mainly with women or age-related gender variations, and Ambiguous with a possible third gender. Moreover, the archaeological data, and the analysis of the figurines point to a rough division between the earlier and later parts of the Neolithic period in the Aegean, and it is on this basis that I will structure my discussion, with special attention paid to the final transitional period of the FN.

Earlier Neolithic (Acer-MN)

A detailed description of the analysis results has already been presented. Here I will focus only on those aspects that I consider as having implications for the understanding of gender, with special attention to the 'sex' categories of Female and Male. The obvious point to start is to repeat that (a) the 'sex' categories that have been recognised for the later

part are already present from the EN period, and (b) representations of the female body are by far the dominant category. In general, the trends that I have detected in the earlier part of the Neolithic seem to continue through into the later part and show a differentiation between female and male representations on a number of levels. As I will explain later, however, new patterns emerge in the later Neolithic which show a synchronic overlap with those originating in the earlier phases. The continuing differentiated trends include the steatopygous form of the female body, as opposed to the corpulent and proportionate male bodies, which continues throughout the Neolithic. Moreover, the posture of Female figurines with an emphasis on the breasts and the abdomen (app. H, Fig. 1) also continues diachronically. Another posture, which shows an overlap between Female and Male figurines, is that with the arms in the raised position.

In addition to the continuing patterns, a number of trends are characteristic of the earlier Neolithic only and have important implications for the understanding of gender. The main one is that Male figurines are seated on stool-like miniature furniture (app. H, Fig. 2), while Female figurines (apart from those standing) are represented in the reclining, squatting and sitting on the ground postures. A curious example, however, is an Ambiguous figurine from Thessaly seated again on a stool (app. H, Fig. 3). It is modelled with breasts and a swollen abdomen to denote pregnancy, while the area of the genitals follows the typology for Male, rather than Female figurines. Another Ambiguous figurine represented with breasts and male genitalia and a swollen abdomen (possibly denoting pregnancy) was also modelled as seated on a chair and was again recovered from Thessaly (Sesklo). In addition, the birth-giving posture (app. H, Fig. 4) is also dated to the earlier part of the Neolithic and is another obvious feature that contrasts with male representations. The inferences we can draw regarding the appearance of the figurines are that face decoration in the form of tattooing or body painting was practised from the earlier Neolithic (app. H, Fig. 5) and there is a possible exclusive association with Female figurines. Additionally, modelled headdresses seem to have been a characteristic of the earlier phases with a definite link with Female figurines.

How can we then integrate these patterns into the socio-economic context of the earlier Neolithic and what inferences can we make regarding gender roles? As I have outlined, by and large Neolithic society has been interpreted as effectively egalitarian, but with a degree

of differentiation on the basis of social and economic roles (Perlès 2001, 305). Such differentiation would have been associated with the acquisition of knowledge of distant raw materials sources or craft specialisation (ceramics and other) (Perlès 2001, 284-5), but is also attested by the restricted circulation of artefacts associated with personal modification in association with clothing or ornaments (Perlès 2001, 288). Burials, on the other hand, do not indicate any form of differentiation between men and women; on the contrary, since children were buried separately, age would seem to have been a major structuring factor for the shaping of social identities.

If we now turn to gender, bearing in mind the socio-economic context of earlier Neolithic Aegean communities, I would like to draw attention to the fact that women dominated the figurine assemblage, which by itself suggests a symbolic preoccupation of society (or possibly of women only, if men were not included in the sphere of figurine production and use) with female-related aspects. The eidoloplastic evidence points to special attention being drawn to women's reproductive and fertility aspects. The postural repertoire shows an emphasis on breasts, the abdomen and the birth-giving position. Moreover, a number of Female figurines from Thessaly were modelled as pregnant (app. H, Fig. 6). As far as the use of colour is concerned, paint was applied mainly in the MN on parts of the Female figurines, such as the breasts, chest area and the pubic area. The colour red (decorating the breasts and pubic area) has been symbolically associated with blood, menstruation, birth and death (Walisewska 1991, 39), as well as minerals, fire and pigment (Chapman 2002, 51), though these should not be viewed as universals. It would be reasonable to argue, therefore, that the choice of colour to decorate Female figurines and the selection of those particular parts of the body could be possibly indicating a symbolic link with fertility and birth-giving and possibly death, while on another level, the choice of red could perhaps have acted as a reference to women's association with fire and the use of pigments in the sphere of pottery-making which has already been suggested by a number of scholars (Perlès 2001; Vitelli 1995), though I would argue, not an exclusively-female activity overall. The pubic area, moreover, apart from the colour red, was also occasionally decorated in white and black which ethnographically (though not universally) often symbolise day and night respectively (Chapman 2002, 51). It is possible that the female pubic area may have symbolised the cycle of life, reproduction and the life cosmologies of early Neolithic society.

Male figurines, on the other hand, are much fewer, but also do not exhibit through their posture or application of paint a symbolic focus on their reproduction aspects. There are only seven male representations, but even out of that small sample what stands out is the fact that they were seated on a stool-like miniature furniture (three in total). Otherwise, their general characteristics do not seem to differ from other models of the same chronological and geographical tradition, though the actual surviving proportions are not known, which does not allow me to compare them with certainty to other specimens, though a similar Male model from the LN follows the conventional range of proportions. Pieces of furniture such as seats or stools are considered as status markers (Wason 1994, 105), which implies a special status for men in early Neolithic society, despite the slight preoccupation with male symbolism. Incidentally, no Female seated figurines date to the earlier part of the Neolithic, though four Asexual, two Probably Asexual and one Ambiguous seated figurine belong to the same chronological phase. The Asexual seated ones of the MN suggest that women may not have been excluded from such prominent positions, while two Ambiguous seated figurines (one of them shown as pregnant) pose interesting questions about the 'special' status that possible third gender people may have enjoyed in earlier Neolithic society. In the lack of Female seated figurines, however, it is worth exploring the possibility that such Male figurines may have represented male community heads, which could also explain their low number. As I discuss in a later section, it is possible that Male figurines may have been made by men themselves in which case the seated Male figurines should be interpreted either as a widely accepted social position for men in the communities of Thessaly, or as a deliberate attempt by men to convey or carve out a social status for themselves that was fluid and under negotiation at the time of the earlier Neolithic.

If we can infer a special status for men on the basis of Male seated figurines, where do women fit in relation to men? As I have already argued, the limited mortuary data does not point to any status distinctions or differential treatment between men and women. If we turn to Female figurines, however, we find that women's special status may have been expressed through the modification of their external appearance in the use of headdresses which ethnographically often indicate high status (see Wason 1994, 105). A similar argument can also be made on the basis of the motifs that adorned Female figurines, since jewellery and clothing can also be read as status markers (see Wason 1994, 105). In

contrast to the lack of any such indications for Male figurines, Female figurines show an increasing trend for motifs denoting clothing from the MN period, although jewellery was marked from the EN. Body decoration (tattoing, painting, scarring, facial decoration), but also attire, as well as the symbolic use of colour, was also applied on Female figurines and the suggestions regarding self-decoration include the communication of social identity (Turner 1995, 146), cultural identity (David *et al* 1988, 378; Hodder 1982), lineage history (Rainbird 2002, 237) or even sexual attractiveness and the coming of mating age (Joyce 2002, 15-25). On the basis of the above evidence, therefore, the special status of men seems to be counter-balanced by the suggested status markers relating to the relative complexity of women's self-decoration and attire.

If we now synthesise the points raised above in relation to gender and the available evidence from early Neolithic settlement and burial sites, we can draw the conclusion that the archaeological record does not point to a status hierarchy between men and women. The burial record suggests age more as a differentiating factor than gender. It is possible, therefore, that the Probably Female, Female form and Asexual figurines, in fact, represent stages in a man's or woman's life. The overlap between these categories and mainly Female figurines, which I have already argued, suggests that rather than seeing them as multiple genders, they may have demarcated the cycles of mainly female lives in relation to age, mating and reproductive stages. If we now turn to the evidence from the living contexts, again we do not find a differentiating pattern between genders. Concerning labour division, the analysis of MSM (musculoskeletal stress markers) from the PPNA and PPNB of the Southern Levant point to sharing of tasks within households or, at least, men and women performing equally demanding chores (Peterson 2002, 131, 133). I believe that a similar order may have operated in the EN of Aegean societies which would indicate that both men and women contributed equally to the economy of their community.

Despite the social and economic differentiation on heterarchical grounds (Perlès 2001, 305), men and women in the same household had complementary rather than unequal roles. The seated Male figurines portrayed a dynamic role of men in society and together with the evidence of clay phalloi in Thessaly and anthropomorphic bearded vessels in Macedonia (Perlès 2001, 264) circulating inside settlements attest to a masculine element being present in the realm of living spaces and ideological symbolism. Women, on the other hand, may

have been associated with the idea of reproduction and fertility and for that reason, therefore, their contribution to the viability of a community on a biological and economic level (agricultural fertility and prosperity) was of central importance in the minds of Neolithic people. The Asexual seated figurines of the MN leave open the possibility that women may not have been excluded from such prominent leadership positions. In addition, Ambiguous specimens reveal a far more complex organisation of society on the basis of gender than earlier interpretations have suggested. If, however, Ambiguous figurines were intended to express symbolic unison between men and women (rather than a third gender), such images may have represented symbolically the economic success that could ideally be achieved on a household level with the contribution of both genders. Moreover, women may have communicated their gender, lineage and cultural status through the increasing elaboration of their external appearance, which separated them as different from men, but also preserved emblematically their community identity. Such modification of women's external appearances, as opposed to men's, can be taken to signify a special role played by women perhaps related to a shamanistic status (Perlès 2001, 301; Vitelli 1995) or their empowering contribution on many economic levels (pottery production, agricultural labour, material processing), as well as their reproductive aspects. Furthermore, the decoration of women's bodies may have played an important role for the needs of exogamy (Perlès 2001, 219) and the maintenance of permanent links with the community that they were born into. A final point to note, is that as Perlès (2001, 262) has rightly argued, the high concentration of figurines, particularly in Thessaly, is symptomatic of the intensity of social relations based on kin-alliances and for that reason figurines should be viewed as playing an important role in the collective rituals that would have served to integrate different parts of a community.

Later Neolithic (LN-FN)

Turning to the later Neolithic, this is a phase in which a number of trends that emerged in the MN intensified even further and a higher degree of complexity developed on all levels. As I have already presented in an earlier section (for details see also *Chapter 2*: *III*), it has been argued that we can detect a shift beginning in the LN to less sharing between

households and more hoarding, which would have consequently led to an inequality of resources and households. As a result of the new economic patterns, an elite emerged which, through alliances with elite groups in other communities, maintained their position and ensured their survival by creating a nexus of coalitions. Exogamous marriage partners and exchange would have played a crucial role in these mechanisms, while non-elite groups would have nucleated around the more successful households, forming a mutual relationship of inter-dependence. In the FN period, moreover, the new medium of copper became socially controlled and must have played a big role in the negotiating mechanisms of knowledge and status, in a way similar to MN pottery (Nakou 1995, 21).

How do figurines then fit into the new socio-economic conditions of the later Neolithic in the Aegean? Do they reflect the changes that would have shaped their makers and the represented subjects? My answer is, yes, figurines of the later phase do demonstrate some new intricate patterns that should be explained on the level of the changing and increasingly complex social environment. The obvious point to start the discussion is to compare the postural repertoire of the Male and Female figurines in relation to the earlier period. A range of postures continued throughout the Neolithic, for the Male figurines being seated on a stool, and the Female figurines emphasising with their hands their breasts and abdomen. As far as Male figurines are concerned, however, there seems to have been a decrease of ones seated on a stool in the later Neolithic, though Male figurines increase in proportion. At the same time we find a symbolic emphasis placed on their genitals (app. H, Fig. 7), since for the first time Male figurines were modelled with their hand on their penis. If we now turn to Female figurines, the postural stress on female reproductive aspects continues (breasts, abdomen), though the actual birth-giving posture does not occur in the later phases. Instead, the stage of pregnancy is a common theme in the late Neolithic, but also the subject of kourotrophoi first appears in the LN not only in Thessaly, but also in the regions of the Peloponnese and the Cyclades. Another new trend is that Female figurines for the first time were modelled as seated on stools; in fact, one of them represents a kourotrophos which has implications for the elevated status of motherhood or childrearing (app. H, Fig. 8). Interestingly, the new modelling of Female seated figurines perhaps represents a more clear-cut place for women (and men) accompanied with a higher status in the later periods. In addition, if Ambiguous figurines did in fact represent third gender

individuals, the absence of such seated specimens may be indicative of the diminishing status of the third gender at a time when a two-gender social organisation may have been encouraged. The changes in terms of posture and represented theme, therefore, have shown that men's sexual and reproductive virility are emphasised in the later period, perhaps at the expense of their earlier socially based status. Women's identity, on the other hand, continues to be constructed on the basis of their reproductive abilities and fertility, although there is a shift of explicit emphasis now placed on pregnancy, motherhood and childrearing. An accompanying new trend for Female figurines is the unconcealed representation of women's special status in the form of seated models (as opposed to Ambiguous seated figurines in the earlier period) (app. H, Fig. 9). I would interpret the new patterns, therefore, as reflections of an explicit link between women and childrearing, but also between motherhood and social status (seated kourotrophos). In fact, this association became more fixed in the minds of Neolithic people and that is why such representations have a circulation also outside the core area of Thessaly. It could be argued, however, that it was more of a southern phenomenon, since we lack such portrayals from Macedonia or Thrace. If we consider the role that offsprings may have played in the new intensified economic and social context in terms of labour and productivity, we could explain why children became a common eidoloplastic theme, but also why women's status seems to have been elevated in comparison to the earlier period, if not to men.

Asexual figurines may suggest a more complex pattern of negotiating status between men and women along the parallel axis of age. In addition, the pregnant Asexual (app. H, Fig. 10) and Ambiguous (app. H, Fig. 11) figurines may also be reflections of the dialectic and fluid basis on which femininity and masculinity were symbolically structured. At the same time, however, the new postural patterns in the later Neolithic may reflect more diametrically different economic and social roles played by the two genders. Asexual figurines represent a proportion that is too high to have corresponded to actual members of a third gender category and the ethnographic evidence has shown that third sexes and genders represent a small class, are rare, and difficult to create and maintain socially (Herdt 1994, 22, 55, 80). Asexual figurines, therefore, are more likely to indicate that age acted as an added dimension of gender status. In fact, the Asexual kourotrophos from the Cyclades (the exact site of recovery is not known; Orphanidi 1998 argues for a Euboian origin) (app. H, Fig. 12) bears features that refer to a mature age, having implications for the status and

occupational contribution of people who had passed their reproductive years. Ambiguous figurines, on the other hand, should leave open the options of a third gender, the small number of which and their dual symbolism of man and woman may have actually represented a third gender category, though such imagery is also common in the realm of mythological origin stories.

I will now draw attention to the way in which female and male bodies were rendered typologically. The dichotomy between steatopygous Female figurines and corpulent or proportionate Male ones that already was apparent from the earlier period continues throughout the later period. A new pattern, however, emerges by which steatopygous representations decrease and account for an almost equal proportion to corpulent ones, while proportionate models became the most common way of rendering Female figurines; at the same time there is an increase of schematic female forms. These changes cannot be explained solely on the basis of aesthetic taste. At a literal level, the unchanged form for male bodies should mean that changes in terms of dietary habits and calorific expenditure must have remained similar for men throughout the Neolithic. Female figurines, on the other hand, with a shift towards more linear bodies may be representing a change from obesity or steatopygy to perhaps an increased activity playing an important role in the performance of female gender or even a change in women's dietary patterns. An alternative but complementary explanation may be that, while in earlier periods more mature bodies, prone to obesity, were represented in figurine forms, in the later Neolithic there is an emphasis on more youthful, slender and active female bodies.

I have also detected changes in the way decorative motifs and paint were applied to Female figurines, while Male figurines remain equally void of such attributes throughout the Neolithic. Starting with the subject of colour, in the later Neolithic, (a) more colours and colour combinations decorated Female figurines and (b) more colours and colour combinations emphasised selected parts of the female anatomy. In the late phase, therefore, the emerging trend for the application of colour on Female figurines in the MN becomes more prominent and intensified with the more frequent use of the basic colours (red, black, white), while new combinations are also favoured (red on white) and the new colours blue and green appear for the first time in the FN. The more complex ways of applying colour on Female figurines may be indicating the emergence of new gender symbolism, but also a

more intensified classification of gender roles. As Chapman has argued, colour is a symbolic category by which humans categorise themselves and the world around them (2002, 52-53). The introduction of new colour types coincides with the emergence of new identities by which members of a cultural group categorised themselves symbolically through the use of colour, while adjusting and refining their own identities (Chapman 2002, 52-3). In the case of the Copper Age cemeteries of Durankulak and Varna, therefore, the introduction of new colours and the increased complexity in colour codification reflect the use of new material culture forms, but more importantly, attest to more intricate symbolic messages communicated through the symbolic use of colour (Chapman 2002, 67).

Returning to the Female figurines in the Aegean, the more widespread and concrete way in which their breasts and chests were decorated, in the absence of decorated Male figurines, could be seen as an indication of a sharper demarcation of concepts related to femininity. In addition, the new combination of white on red adds another level of conceptual symbolism to a prominent part of the female body (possibly the breast area was linked to the concept of birth, linked with milk in the period of breast-feeding). The abdomen is another part of the female anatomy which, in addition to being modelled pregnant more often in the later Neolithic, is also more elaborately demarcated with the application of the three basic colours red, black and white. Such emphasis on the female abdomen may be read as an increase in the importance of women as life-givers with the symbolic combination of the birth-related concepts of blood, living, chthonic and 'daylight' elements. An alternative explanation for the colour white on the female abdomens may be associated with body fluids (white and breast-feeding milk on the breast and chest area) in which case we could perhaps consider the symbolism of semen and female pregnancy though as I mentioned earlier, we should not regard such trends as universal. Finally, the pubic area is decorated with red and black, although not at a higher level than in the MN, while one specimen from the Peloponnese is painted with green paint on the pubic area. The choice of colours, however, may again be taken to be symbolic of the life and death elements linked to womanhood, but also an expression of new symbolic notions of agriculture and vegetation through the use of green paint (Chapman 2002, 51; Walisewska 1991, 39-40) and its association with women's fertility (pubic area).

Another interesting example is that of a FN Female figurine from the Peloponnese (of unknown site) which represents the only such specimen decorated in blue. The colour blue has been linked ethnographically with the water as a source of life or with the sky (Chapman 2002, 51; Walisewska 1991, 39), which may indicate a celestial symbolism for Female figurines for the first time or a new water symbolism for female gender, especially if in the new period of island colonisation (Broodbank 2000, 144) figurines took on a protective role as guardians for safe seafaring. Alternatively, the colour blue may have been marked with the use of azurite, a blue mineral associated with copper deposits which could fit in with Chapman's correlation between the introduction of colour and new forms in the Copper Age and would, therefore, suggest a strong link between figurines and metals. As Nakou has suggested for the circulation of copper objects in cave ritual contexts (1995, 7), the increased circulation of figurines in caves in the later phase could be indicating an increased ritual role played by figurines in the integration of Neolithic social groups. The use of Female figurines in such processes could imply that women, as we will later see in connection with motifs denoting clothing, represented and embodied the identity of the social unit and of the cultural group as a whole. Finally, the increased symbolism around womanhood with the application of colour coincides with the late modelling of zoomorphic Female figurines which attest to a newly added allegorical meaning. Finally, the use of the colours mentioned above has been linked to motifs that denote body decoration (painting or tattooing) but also clothing. Moreover, I would suggest a further symbolism at the level of actual body decoration and the weaving and dying of textiles appropriate for female attire.

Another striking difference from the earlier period is the application of motifs on Female (and Asexual) figurines in order to denote mainly body decoration, clothing and jewellery, very common in Macedonia, Thessaly, the Peloponnese and Crete. The parts of the body that were covered with cloth, as indicated by the motifs, included the torso (chest), lower body (hips, legs), but also the pubic area, while we should be bearing in mind that Male figurines do not bear such traits. Motifs denoting jewellery also increased, and again decorated mainly Female and Asexual figurines, but no Male ones. We can infer that such jewellery was worn around the neck and chest as amulets or necklaces, on the ears as earrings or less often as rings worn around the lower legs, as indicated by the widespread use of such motifs from Macedonia, Thessaly, the Peloponnese, the Cyclades and the C. Mainland. The new trend indicating a widespread use of body decoration, clothing,

jewellery and general increased modification of personal appearance of women, rather than men, can imply a more complex way in which female gender identity was being modelled and communicated in relation to other women and men. Moreover, the increased concealment of women's bodies, in comparison to the earlier periods, suggests perhaps that an element of shame or physical restriction for both genders may have been active as part of the social order by which mating would have been controlled. An interesting possibility is that the intensified and more elaborate way in which the female body was covered in costume and adorned in jewellery, in comparison to the earlier period and to men, could be read as the emergence of status markers (see Wason 1995,105) in the construction of female gender identity in the later Neolithic. This suggestion would fit with the occurrence of later seated Female figurines. On another level, the emergence of more intricate ways of decorating and dressing the body (in particular the female body) would have also served to shape and demarcate cultural and social identity through physical appearance. In that case, women would have been the bearers of such traditions, which has implications for women's place in society, if we consider the increased complexity in intra and inter-community relations between social groups.

II b. SOME THOUGHTS ON FIGURINE PRODUCTION AND GENDER ATTRIBUTION IN THE AEGEAN NEOLITHIC

A common assumption expressed in the field of Aegean prehistory has been that women were linked to pottery production (Perlès 2001; Vitelli 1995), in turn influenced by ethnographic models that have defined rudimentary pottery production as a predominantly female task (Murdock 1973, 207) and by some attempts to explain gender labour division as a universally predictable phenomenon (Brown, J K, 1970). Such predictive ethnographic models, however, are limiting on a number of grounds: they are prejudiced mainly against women in the way they have defined the 'producer' (Rice 1991, 440; Wright 1991, 198), they have relied on western ideas concerning the separation of labour into distinct spheres (Wright 1991, 195) and the application of capitalist theorisations of labour do not take into account the 'invisibility' of women's activities in terms of economic return or tangible

material evidence, since they often take the form of small-scale and house-based activities (Rice 1991, 440).

In my opinion, if we continue to apply such models, we ran the risk of drawing largely uncritical conclusions on the organisation of prehistoric societies, and propose a-historical genders which further perpetuate both the androcentric and the feminist assumptions already present in ethnographic accounts (Gilchrist 1999, 52). For this reason, I suggest that as Gilchrist (1999, 52) has rightly pointed out, we should focus more on tracing differences in gender and labour in their own context and from contrasting chronological periods. It is also essential to realise that more than one gender may be involved at different stages of the production (Nelson 1997, 106; Sørensen 1996; Wright 1991, 195), which warns us against our tendency to attribute tasks to one gender exclusively. A conscious effort to move away from our western understanding of labour would allow us to encompass a more gender-holistic approach to labour and one that would avoid the imposition of models that bear no relation to the actual context under study. Moreover, in the context of prehistoric communities we should envisage a much higher degree of inter-dependence and cooperation in all spheres of life, than we are used to seeing in our modern societies.

Turning now to the subject of Aegean Neolithic figurines, I wish to focus purely on what the data reveal to us in relation to gender and production. On a first level, the link between pottery and figurine production reminds us of the chicken-and-egg conundrum. In the case of the Aegean Neolithic, figurines have already been recovered from aceramic levels (one from Sesklo in Thessaly and another from aceramic/EN levels at Knossos, Crete) which may indicate that if we wish to look for a link, we should then be thinking along the lines of figurine production pointing to a link with pottery manufacture instead. As Rice has pointed out, figurine-making came before pottery and there is no reason why the use of fire or other technological skills should be associated with one sex exclusively (1991, 437). The link, therefore, that women need to be associated with pottery-making and hence figurine production needs to be dismissed on the grounds that (a) we cannot know with any certainty that women were involved in the moulding of aceramic figurines, and (b) the use of fire necessary in both tasks cannot be viewed as an exclusively male or female knowledge.

I will, therefore, turn to the study of the representative theme and symbolic dimensions of the Neolithic figurine assemblage instead as a way of gaining an insight into the aspects of figurine production. The main point is that Female figurines, more than any other category, dominate the Aegean assemblage, which to me suggests a preoccupation with aspects of life and symbolisms related to women. Moreover, Female figurines demonstrate a clear emphasis on sexual and reproductive aspects that may suggest the expression and knowledge of an embodied experience. Moreover, as far as their modelling is concerned, Female figurines especially express a postural fluidity and variety that may be accounted for by the biographical and sometimes explicit nature of these figurines, clearly expressed through the careful and emphatic modelling of breasts, pregnant abdomens, post-pregnancy bodies, swollen vulvas and birth-giving postures. The moulding of female bodies is also characterised by a variety of forms and shapes (from proportionate to steatopygous bodies), indicating an element of self-projection that operated at the level of their production. The element of self-projection and the high proportion of Female figurines in general, may point to mainly women being involved in their modelling, if not all stages of production. I should clarify, however, that the aspects they chose to emphasise may not have been necessarily relevant only to women. Following this line of thought, the Male and some of the Asexual figurines may have been modelled by men, but are clearly far fewer, again supporting the hypothesis that even though women played a central role in the production of most figurines, men may have also been active in the sphere of model-making which would argue against the idea that men need to be excluded from the realm of Neolithic figurine manufacture and ideology. Along the same lines, Amb figurines may have also been modelled by people belonging to a third gender.

II c. CONCLUDING REMARKS ON GENDER IN NEOLITHIC SOCIETY THROUGH THE STUDY OF FIGURINES

In summary, therefore, I have detected and attempted to explain the new patterns that emerged in the later part of the Neolithic concerning figurines in general, but more significantly, how Female figurines and the categories associated with them operated symbolically. I have also argued that the changes in the represented theme and symbolism

of Female figurines reflects new ways in which gender categories related to each other and also a new complexity in which female identity was shaped and activated at a social level. Such changes need to be interpreted in the context of increased complexity that characterised Neolithic communities on an economic and social level and which defined relationships between social groups, but also between social groups of different communities. It is in this milieu, therefore, that we need to explain the patterns of women's multiple operational roles in later Neolithic societies as reflected by the eidoloplastic evidence.

Again, as in the earlier period, the burials do not in any way indicate a hierarchical order between social groups or between genders. The evidence from later living areas, however, suggests a greater social complexity between social groups than in the earlier Neolithic, while the burials of the FN period can also be taken to signify that the individual might have acquired a special place in his/her community, especially at a time of economic change in the new environment of the Cyclades. Female figurines, therefore, and the more widespread symbolism associated with them in the later Neolithic suggest that we are detecting a shared gender vocabulary emerging for most of the Aegean. Moreover, the more distinct ways in which femaleness was marked and separated from male representations can also be interpreted as an element of an increasing dichotomy between men and women regarding gender roles and responsibilities at a household and community level. The increased complexity, however, in the way female gender was structured and the elements suggesting an elevated status of women in contrast to the earlier Neolithic should not be extended to suggest the dominance of one gender over the other. It would be more appropriate to envisage men and women of different social groups, and even communities, collaborating at an economic level (labour division may have emerged, however) in order to ensure the survival of their own family or kin group. A good example of that collaboration between the two genders at an economic level is the fragment of a storage vessel from the cave of Tharounia (Orphanidi 1998, Pl.74; see also app. B, Fig. 6) on which a man and woman are represented together. Also, the "kourotrophos" figurine modelled as a mature individual (see app. H, Fig. 12) should be taken to represent the economic contribution that elderly social members would have offered to their household and community at a time when more intensive economic processes occupied women's time, creating, therefore, a need for 'childcare'.

Another aspect that deserves consideration is the circulation and use of figurines. Fowler has argued that personhood can be understood through the interpretation of the transactions taking place between people, between people and things and other entities (2004, 88). Moreover, in the context of *partible* relations (i.e. in which the *partible* person is considered as being made up of a number of substances and actions of others) the process of exchange between people means that the part they give away in encompassed by another person and allows the formation of new relationships (Fowler 2004, 150). In such relationships the transactions of things between people transfer qualities from one person to another (Fowler 2004, 31), parts of persons are removed and exchanged and become parts of others (Fowler 2004, 36). Also it is possible that fractal processes operated in such relationships according to which things can be parts of persons and they can also be persons (Fowler 2004, 43). If we now envisage that such relationships also existed in the early prehistoric societies of the Aegean in which social bonds were maintained with the transference of parts of people through the exchanged objects (*enchainment*), as suggested by Chapman for the Neolithic and Copper Age of the Balkans (2000, 2001), a number of suggestions can be put forward in relation to the circulation of figurines. In fact the argument can appear even stronger in the case of artefacts that actually represent people. It is possible, therefore, that the possible exchange of such objects among people in Neolithic Aegean communities may have served to create and reinforce the social and ideological bonds between different persons and/or social groups. The fact that the majority of the figurines represented women may also be an indication of the central role played by women in the maintenance of the social nexus, though other categories of objects or even animals would have been exchanged from the part of men. Moreover, it is a valid point to consider that the fragmentation state and deliberate deposition and circulation of figurines may also be indicating the use of gender symbolism in the maintenance of relations at an ideological and social level (Chapman 2000, 72; Chapman 2001, 101).

Finally, I would argue that the increased number of anthropomorphic figurines in general in the later Neolithic and their widespread circulation throughout the Aegean suggests that we may be seeing a higher level of social integration through the use of such symbolically loaded objects, but also of the supernatural structure of gender and social order. The increased role played by figurines in the ideology of Neolithic people is indicated by their circulation in caves and burial grounds in the later period, while at the same time masculine

elements, such as clay phalloi also circulated in cave contexts. We need to appreciate that in the absence of written religious codes, anthropomorphic figurines, with their gender symbolism, acted out, preserved and perpetuated the socially acceptable way of gender embodiment and conduct, though the Ambiguous and Asexual representations indicate a complexity in the way gender was structured (age or a possible third gender), and a deliberately eroding mechanism for gender communication, especially when they were modelled according to the typology of 'powerful' imagery (seated Asexual figurines).

III. EBA FIGURINES AND GENDER; A PROPOSED INTERPRETATION

III a. FIGURINES, SYMBOLISM AND GENDER

In this section I will focus on the symbolic aspects of figurines and in association with the prevalent picture regarding social organisation in the EBA. An issue that needs to be addressed, before I proceed with the discussion on gender, is that, unlike the way I organised the discussion of Neolithic figurines around the early and late phases, in this section I will present my interpretation of the whole assemblage together, with a focus on the EB II phase. The main reason for this decision is that my correlation of typological and contextual dates of Cycladic figurines have revealed a number of inconsistencies which cast doubts on the typological schema (developed by Renfrew 1969), especially on the issue of schematic, violin-shaped figurines and the ones belonging to the FAF variety. Moreover, the fact that figurines seem to have been curated sometimes in an extended period of their circulation suggests that their form and meaning were relevant even after the period of their manufacture. If we now add the difficulties caused by the unclear provenance of some of the figurines, as well as the continuous use of some of the contexts, our task of placing specific representations in a precise chronological frame becomes even more unrealistic. A more holistic presentation of gender in the EBA period, therefore, will lead to a more productive comparison with the Neolithic results. For all those reasons, I will present the discussion on a thematic basis from which I will be able to draw direct comparisons with the Neolithic figurines, while pointing to particular chronological phases when necessary

for explaining the emergent patterns. EB II, for example, is one aspect that will require a more detailed discussion in terms of how the socio-economic phenomena would have affected gender relationships.

For the purposes of the interpretation and on the additional basis of the results regarding decorative symbolism and posture, I have equated the terms Female, (and Probably Female) and Female form (and Probably Female form) with women and femaleness, Male (Probably Male) with men and maleness and Ambiguous with a possible third gender. Asexual (and Probably Asexual) forms, in contrast to the Neolithic, lack a convincing association with any of the above gender categories.

Figurines and the representation of gendered images

Statistical analysis has indicated that the production of figurines was higher in the EBA than in the Neolithic period which suggests that the socio-political circumstances were such that communication of socio-ideological messages and propaganda relied more heavily on the use of anthropomorphic figurines. Though in the EBA period, as in the Neolithic, Female figurines outnumber by far Male representations in all regions and the representation of women remained a relevant symbolic concept, the dramatic increase of Asexual forms has implications for the understanding of gender. Such Asexual representations do not show a significant overlap with Female figurines as in the case of the Neolithic ones, which leads us to three possible conclusions: (a) that Asexual figurines (or some of them) represented in fact undetected men, (b) that the status rather than the anatomical attributes were intended to be communicated, or (c) that the intention was to model a summary human form (irrespective of gender) which would have sufficed for the specific purposes of figurine use. Another aspect that I have considered is whether they were modelled as dressed and that is why the anatomical attributes were omitted. The proportion of clearly dressed and clearly naked Asexual figurines is equally low, with the majority of cases belonging to the category of "not clear", meaning that they could be taken to be either naked or dressed due to their fragmentary state or their partial demarcation. I would argue, therefore, that at least some of the EBA Asexual figurines may have primarily communicated their social (interwoven with gender) status through their attire, rather than

their gender identity as constructed on the basis of their physical attributes. This suggestion is further supported by the fact that the dressed Asexual figurines from the Neolithic period mainly date to the later phases, but also Asexual figurines, in general, increased dramatically in the later Neolithic phase again, both of which trends could be taken to signify a pattern associated with social complexity. Finally, as I have already pointed out, the fact that Asexual figurines are so numerous does not allow us to draw a link with a third gender, since third genders are rarely detected cross-culturally, they are difficult to maintain socially and would have also numbered fewer members than other gender categories (Herdt 1994, 22, 50, 80).

Returning now to the issue of Female figurines against Male ones as a proportion comparable to that of the Neolithic period, a number of implications have resulted from the earlier discussion on Asexual representations. The first is that the female image became less dominant symbolically (though still central) in the EBA with the gradual increase of Asexual figurines. The change from an exclusive dominance of Female figurines is further enhanced by the possibility that at least some of the Asexual figurines may have represented men. If we now consider the suggestion that the increase of Asexual figurines may be indicating an increase in the proportion of figurines communicating social status through attire-related insignia (paint has not survived to the extend of the Neolithic ones), we could argue that in the EBA period there was a shift from representation of gender on the basis of the physical body to a more culturally constructed identity, especially since such Asexual forms are distributed throughout the Aegean. The fact that Asexual figurines are not geographically restricted indicates that it is not a typology-bounded phenomenon, but rather reflects a tendency throughout the EBA Aegean. I am aware that such Asexual shapes may be representative of a different meaning and use of figurines (as opposed to the more naturalistic ones), but a number of similar trends perhaps suggest otherwise and instead point to a gender-related pattern. These trends are: (a) Asexual figurines have been recovered from the same contexts as other figurines, and (b) even if I accept a difference in the use of Asexual figurines they nevertheless mark a thematic shift from female shapes to more abstract or socially-constructed forms. If we also consider the artefacts relating to the manipulation of personal appearance, we can detect a greater elaboration in the communicating and modelling of social and gender identity, but I shall discuss this in greater detail in a following section. Finally, rare Ambiguous forms were also being

produced in the EBA period which may have in fact represented a third gender, though their symbolism in mythological origin stories is also possible.

Figurines, modelling of the human body and gendered images

The main marked difference regarding the way the female body was rendered in the Neolithic and the EBA is the shift from steatopygous and corpulent to more proportionate models. While in the Neolithic the female body was modelled in a variety of ways in terms of its proportions, in the EBA period it became more standardised and was markedly less 'fleshy' in appearance. Apart from implications regarding a change in dietary patterns in the EBA, I believe that what we may be witnessing is more a shift from the representation of a living individual to a more socially static persona, further distanced from the practicalities and realities of actual living and the involvement of the physical body. The only Thessalian site that covers the FN and EBA period (Pefkakia), and which has produced a considerable number of figurines, should be expected to show a continuation of figurine-making typology bridging the strong Thessalian Neolithic tradition with the new cultural context of the EBA. On the contrary, despite the very distinct tradition of Thessalian naturalistic figurines in the Neolithic, the FN-EBA figurines took completely different forms, much more schematic and abstract, even though some elements of Neolithic shapes suggest some overlap. Moreover, the tendency for schematisation of figurine bodies (even in proportionate models) further supports the argument that in the EBA figurines represented a very different social identity to that expressed in the Neolithic period. The increase of standardisation in figurine production, as opposed to the Neolithic situation, also reflects a new intention to represent the social and symbolic identity in the form of the figurine, rather than the actual variety of form that the human body takes when engaged in real life experiences. In relation to gender identity, therefore, the Female figurines, instead of representing women with a self-projecting element as in the Neolithic, embodied a more symbolic concept of womanhood that was active in the social context of the EBA Aegean and for that reason, as I explain later on, may have passed largely under the control of men. Alternatively, the detected restriction of form may have been the result of a gender 'rigidity' in the EBA Aegean that would have in turn dictated very specific

ways of representation of the female (and even male) bodies whether they were produced by men or women. The standardisation in the way the human, and in particular, the female body was modelled also suggests a control over the production of socially accepted female models. Following on from that, Female figurines in the EBA marked on the one hand a higher degree of formality in terms of female gender behaviour and role, and on the other a symbolic idea that was embodied in the shape of figurines more divorced from real life experiences than in the Neolithic period.

Turning now to Male figurines, the few that were manufactured were solely produced in a proportionate form, again marking a similar pattern from corpulent shapes to more stylised ones in the EBA, suggesting a general restriction in the way the human body was modelled. Similar suggestions can also be put forward for Male figurines regarding male gender identity as reflected as a social ideal rather than as a variable social persona with a physical dimension, as in the Neolithic. Moving now to the other 'sexed' categories, Female form figurines, as opposed to Female ones, were mainly modelled as schematic steatopygous forms. Such shapes have been argued to represent earlier types, though I have detected such figurines deposited also in EC II contexts. If they do not reflect a different use, I would argue that, since they represented shapes that required less skill and time for their manufacture (Oustinoff 1984, 39-40), perhaps the accentuated female steatopygous shape was essential for the communication of a female gender identity (in combination with the overlapping posture repertoire and decorative motifs). As far as Asexual figurines are concerned, they are again in their majority represented with proportionate bodies, in contrast to their Neolithic counterparts which were often modelled as corpulent or steatopygous forms, following thus the general EBA trend for greater stylisation and standardisation of the human shape. The analysis of the body typology, therefore, has revealed the increased importance placed on the social and symbolic identity of individuals as social members.

Posture, thematic representation and gender embodiment

We can start by stressing the differences between Neolithic and EBA figurines regarding posture and the emphasis on sexual and/or reproduction-related parts of the female and

male body. In the Neolithic, Female figurines were often modelled with their hands on the breasts, below the breasts, resting on the abdomen but also in the birth-giving position. Male figurines, equivalently, were occasionally modelled with the hand resting on the genitalia. This emphasis on the aspects of sexuality and reproduction of gender categories is not present in the EBA period for either Female or Male figurines. For Female figurines the theme of fertility is expressed only in the form of pregnant figurines (Cyclades, Euboia, Central Mainland) (app. H, Fig. 14), or figurines with flesh folds representing post-pregnancy marks (Cyclades and Crete) (app. H, Fig. 15). Male figurines, on the other hand, are not modelled with any emphasis on the biological aspect of their identity. I would explain this difference from the Neolithic as suggesting that gender identity and social identity in general were constructed more along social parameters and were perhaps less bound to the exposure of anatomical attributes for the communication of gender identity that in the Neolithic. In the EBA period the most common posture for Female figurines that replaces the Neolithic repertoire with the emphasis on sexuality and reproduction is that of the folded arms resting below the breasts or on the abdomen (Cyclades, Crete, Euboia, Central Mainland, rarely in the Peloponnese). This modelling of the female body with the arms folded below the breasts has been linked to the way the arms would be placed on the body at the time of death, but, as Hoffman (2002, 530) has rightly pointed out, that was not a practice followed in the Cyclades where the bodies were buried in the flexed position with the arms not folded across the body. I would also add that the folded-arm posture is also exhibited on seated figurines which were obviously represented in an active gesture (in one case one arm is folded on the abdomen, while the other is raised holding a cup). Moreover, the figurines that have been found resting against the wall of grave niches in the Cyclades (Doumas 1977, 63) also suggest that folded-arm figurines may not have been intended to be modelled in the reclining position. One suggestion regarding the standardisation of the folded-arm posture, especially when the breasts almost rest on the folded arms, could be that in a way similar to the Neolithic sexually emphatic postures, the intention was to draw attention to the breasts and hence fertility. Though this is a possible explanation, I would point out that the folded-arm posture may have evolved from the earlier more schematic figurines which represented the hands resting high on the chest (also modelled on Neolithic figurines, despite being explained in the literature as mere "arm stumps") which again do not demonstrate an emphasis placed on the breasts. This range of postures rather marks the contracted arrangement of the arms from early on in the EBA

period, continued in related variations and co-existed along the standardised folded-arm posture (one such example of a form parallel to Kapsala type from Thebes). I would argue, therefore, that it originated from a modelling of the arms that expressed more a restriction of arm movement and body posture in general and that is why it is less likely that it was intended to place emphasis on female anatomy. It is difficult to know what the folded-arm gesture communicated in an EBA cultural context; we can conclude, however, that it was a posture mainly associated with Female figurines (but also Female form), and therefore women, which suggests a more socially-embodied construction of gender, but also a higher degree of polarisation in terms of gender roles and socially-accepted ideal images of men and women than in the Neolithic. It is worth noting also that the NE Aegean and Macedonian examples do not follow the same repertoire, but in that assemblage as well, postures placing an emphasis on reproductive organs are completely absent in accordance, therefore, with the pattern that I have just discussed.

Another range of postures is that of the seated figurines. As I have already discussed, the fact that such models appear on stools or chairs implies a high social status. Such representations have been interpreted as being restricted to male figurines and therefore reflecting a high social status for men. My analysis, however, has shown that of the two seated figurines on chairs, one is Male and one Female (both from the Cyclades) (app. H, Fig. 16). Moreover, of the figurines seated on stools (from the Cyclades, Crete, Euboia), four are Female, only two are Male, four more are Asexual, with the addition of a Probably Male specimen. On the basis of this evidence, therefore, I would argue that we need to be more cautious before we draw any conclusions regarding the given 'high' social status of men in EBA Aegean society. As in the Neolithic period, seated Female figurines were also produced in the EBA period which casts doubts as to whether the evidence in fact supports an abrupt deterioration in the status of women with the advent of the EBA. It is, of course, possible that such seated Female figurines were representative of a higher status group of women in any case (marble figurines accompanied rich burials), or that, according to the suggestion of ancestor worship, they were modelled as the cult figure of a lineage head and did not represent the female population in general. Both points are valid, but what is also important to remember is that the modelling of women as cult personae of equal social rank to men suggests that the negotiation of power between men and women was a more

complex process and that the association between women and low social status is not self-evident or as straight-forward as earlier interpretations have led us to believe.

Moving on to more thematic aspects of the postural modelling of women, an interesting change from the Neolithic to the EBA is that Female figurines (or figurines of any 'sex' category for that matter) are no longer represented as "kourotrophoi". I do not suggest, of course, that children or child-rearing was any less important than in the Neolithic period, but it was obviously not a theme that was selected for the modelling of gendered images. I believe that this change is probably more symptomatic of a change in the meaning and use of figurines in the EBA, again following the pattern for a movement away from a self-projecting element to a more socially standardised symbolic image. One figurine that could be pushed into the category of the "kourotrophoi" is that of a dual figurine from Paros with a smaller figurine resting on the crown of a larger figurine, if we accept that the smaller one represented a daughter. A new range of postures, however, that emerged in the EBA included the so-called musicians, harpists and flautists. Of the seven such figurines that I have recorded, three are Male (one Probably Male) and three more are Asexual. Again as with the seated figurines, an automatic correlation was drawn in earlier interpretations between male figurines and the modelling of musicians and following on from that the special, high status of men. The masculine element associated with these postures is evident (especially in the absence of any female specimens); the fact, however, that almost half of those are Asexual (app. H, Fig. 17), again warns us against making such generalised statements regarding male figurines and the implied social status of men. A relevant point is also that the "musicians" are seated (apart from the flautist) which suggests a prominent ideological and social role played by them in the EBA Aegean.

A figurine from Euboia is modelled holding a cup in its raised hand, while it is also seated. It is void of any anatomical attributes and I have thus termed it as Asexual. The fact, however, that the left arm is folded across the abdomen and that the folded-arm position is associated solely with female images in the Cycladic tradition of figurines, could allow us to consider it as representing female gender. Moreover, the burials from Manika (Sampson 1988) have shown that cups were contained in both male and female burials which would not support an exclusive association between conspicuous liquid consumption and men. In the light of this argument, the suggestion that wine-drinking (if in fact it was wine), used in

social-ceremonies bestowing social power, according to the interpretations of Sherratt (2000), should be reviewed in the sense that women, as well as men, played a central role in the conspicuous consumption of such substances, but also in association with the 'macho' scenarios linking drinking men to powerful status. In conclusion, the emergence of such postures (in the middle part of the EBA) suggests a more complex social basis on which gender identity was constructed, further removed from the biological dimension of gender in relation to the Neolithic period.

A final category that has attracted a lot of attention in the discussion of male figurines and the implications for the understanding of gender in the EBA Aegean is that of the "hunter-warrior" figurines. Gill & Chippindale (1993) have already exposed the problems of authenticity surrounding the "hunter-warrior" category and that is precisely why I have not included any such pieces which cannot be safely regarded as genuine. Despite the doubts regarding such unprovenanced male figurines, a whole argument concerning men's powerful warrior status in the EBA has been built on the basis of such dubious representations (Broodbank 2000, 253; Nakou 1995, 11, 13). Admittedly, a drawing at the British Museum (app. H, Fig. 18) representing such a male figurine can be taken to be genuine (Fitton 1984). In my sample, however, the only two figurines that bear a baldric are Female, which again calls for a review of what this warrior status actually meant in the context of EBA society (app. H, Fig. 19). A very interesting detail that can be seen in app. H, Fig. 19:a is the addition of a penis sheath on an otherwise anatomically Female figurine which may be indicating a symbolic male persona that may have been taken on by women of a warrior status. It is true that ethnographic evidence has shown a link between men and weapons and the abrupt increase of such items in the EBA indicates that weaponry played an important role in the way gender and social identity were demarcated and communicated. Also, as I will discuss later, knives and obsidian blades have been found in association with male burials, but we need to remind ourselves that grave goods such as daggers and other metal blades were contained only in rich burials which indicates that not all men had that high warrior status. The two Female figurines with the baldric, however, should at least challenge and widen our interpretation to include actual and/or symbolic representations of women as high status individuals, but also in a more active role than that of the mother or 'wife'. It is also possible, therefore, that the notion of 'fragile' femininity

may have not applied in the EBA Aegean context suggesting that gender construction was a much more diverse process than we have come to assume for past societies.

The postural analysis of the figurines, therefore, has pointed to striking differences between the Neolithic and the EBA period in the way social identity was moulded. At the same time, it also exposed some of the androcentric biases that have coloured the interpretations of such figurines in relation to gender status.

Symbolism in figurines and the implications for the understanding of gender

This section focuses on aspects of symbolism expressed through the applications of colour and motifs on the figurines. Starting with a comparison of the decorative repertoire on Neolithic and EBA figurines, there is a clear decline in the number of motifs applied to the figurines in the EBA period. Of course, the difference may be a result of the bias in the archaeological record, since the wide use of marble from the EBA would have influenced the degree to which pigment would survive, as opposed to clay which was often decorated with incisions. The surviving decoration on the EBA figurines, however, points to a much smaller variety in the use and meaning of motifs, especially in the categories of body painting, clothing and attire. In the case of the Cretan figurines, in particular, the dress represented on the figurines was expressed more in the modelling of the overall shape and not through the use of motifs. It is this covered-up appearance of the Cretan figurines (mainly on late forms) which would also explain why that type is represented as Asexual, since the anatomical attributes would be hidden behind the costume. The theme of clothing, however, is apparent throughout the Aegean to a higher or lesser degree, with a bias towards Female figurines in the Cyclades and the Peloponnese, while on Crete and in the NE Aegean (app. H, Fig. 20) the clothed figurines mainly represent Asexual shapes. The parts that are depicted as being covered are the torso on Female and Asexual figurines, but more importantly the pubic area, though in most Cycladic figurines the pubic area is exposed and marked as female or male. Often the waist and hips were emphasised with the modelling of a band or belt on mainly Female form figurines. As far as the general attire is concerned, headdresses were often modelled especially on Crete and in the Cyclades on

mainly Asexual figurines, although one Female figurine from the Cyclades is also depicted in a similar way. The modelling of headdresses, apart from denoting rank (Wason 1994, 105), could have also expressed social group affiliation, a pattern that shows a female bias in the figurines of the MM period on Crete (Pilali-Papasteriou 1989, 100). I believe that this difference from the Neolithic in the decrease of motifs depicting clothing does not mean that the covering of the body became less important in the expression of gender or social identity. On the contrary, the richness of the archaeological record in the forms of pins that would have fastened together fabrics and the loom-weights used for the processing of linen and wool, suggests an elaboration of costume in the EBA period. The fact that this elaboration was not expressed through figurines, I believe, is more a result of the change in the use of figurines and what they were intended to represent, following the suggestion again that there was a distance from the element of self-projection in the Neolithic to a more spiritual and symbolically idealised image in the EBA. This suggestion is less applicable, however, to the figurines from the NE Aegean, Thessaly and the Peloponnese, especially as the context of recovery there was habitational rather than funerary. It is also possible that such motifs depicting clothing have been lost, but as my analysis of the Neolithic figurines has taught me, the usual pattern for clothing-related motifs is to be linked with a modelling of the body (in a general rectangular or triangular outline) which tends to omit the representation of the limbs or any other anatomical feature. In the case of the Cycladic and Cycladic-type figurines, however, the limbs are clearly shaped with a medial groove between the rounded thighs and calves. In addition, the pubic area is modelled and all those features would suggest to me that these figurines were never intended to be represented as fully clothed. One possibility is that they were literally dressed with the aid of fabric, but that is only a speculative hypothesis.

Pigment (as indicated by some figurines not included in my sample) was often used to emphasise and outline anatomical features, namingly the eyes, eyebrows and hair in dark paint, the female pubic area in blue (Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 54; Hendrix 1998, 11), as well as the nostrils with the use of red and possibly the mouth (Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 54; Gill & Chippindale 1993, 656; Hendrix 1998, 8, 11; Renfrew 1969, 23). Other motifs that were employed in the EBA represented jewellery, most often worn around the neck as necklaces (app. H, Fig. 21) and more rarely as bracelets on the arms, although figurines not included in my sample (and therefore of doubtful provenance) have also been known to bear traces

of paint that denoted diadems or necklaces (Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 54; Hoffman 2002, 530; Mpirtacha 2003, 270; Renfrew 1969, 23). I have detected such motifs only on figurines from the Cyclades, Crete and the E. Aegean, with the Cycladic ones representing the majority. Such motifs seem to have been an EB I and II phenomenon throughout the three areas mentioned above and in the Cyclades were predominantly associated with Female and Female form figurines and less often with Asexual ones. On Crete, however, mainly Asexual figurines bore such motifs, while there does not seem to be a male or female bias. The same equal representation of jewellery motifs also seems to have been the case for the NE Aegean (see app. H, Fig. 22). They were almost always carved by incision, although the infilling of these incisions with pigment has been verified archaeologically on Cycladic figurines, which should make us envisage the striking appearance and the intention behind the communication of social status of the human image that the figurines represented.

Important implications can result from the correlation between jewellery motifs and Cycladic Female and Female form figurines. Starting with the first point, jewellery as a category of grave good has also been associated with women (Maggidis 1998, 91; Sampson 1988) and, secondly, metal jewellery was contained in rich burials (Maggidis 1998, 91-92; Sampson 1988, 41). The modelling of jewellery, therefore, on female representations suggests to me a high social status for women in the EBA Aegean, which, if for men was expressed in the use of metal daggers and spearheads (in the advanced stages of the EC, Doumas 1977, 60), for women it was embodied and expressed through jewellery adornment or even weaponry as suggested by the Female "hunter-warrior" figurines. In the case of Crete, the depiction of jewellery as motifs on Asexual figurines could be correlated with the idea that high status was expressed through the costume that was modelled on them, especially as clothing could be an indicator of rank (Wason 1994, 105). A final point that could result from the distribution of such jewellery motifs on figurines from the Cyclades, Crete and the NE Aegean, and the support from the archaeological record for metal artefacts, further confirms the role played by these areas in the circulation and production of metal objects as part of the social mechanisms that structured social status, an element that was lacking in the Neolithic period. In turn, social status interwoven with gender identity, as suggested by the eidoloplastic evidence in the case of the Cyclades, places especially women as central in the processes of expressing and enacting high social rank.

In the case of motifs that expressed body decoration or tattooing, the EBA evidence shows a dramatic decrease in comparison to the Neolithic period, though, as I have already explained, that could have been the result of differential survival of pigment on clay and marble surfaces. The little evidence of decorative motifs suggests that they occur throughout the Aegean, but do not show a bias towards female or male representations or a clear chronological pattern. It is worth mentioning here also the motifs, painted mainly in red, denoting tattoos that have been observed on unprovenanced pieces in the form of linear or more abstract patterns with a possible symbolic, ritual meaning (e.g. "eye motif"; see app. H, Fig. 23) and which adorned the face, chest or the whole body of the figurine (Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 54; Gill & Chippindale 1993, 656; Hendrix 1998, 8, 9, 11). Such motifs could have expressed the practice of body decoration in the form of body painting, tattooing or scarification (Getz-Preziosi & Weinberg 1970, 11; Papadatos 2003, 286). The fact that such customs were part of the everyday life of people living in EBA Aegean communities finds support in the archaeological record (Broodbank 2000, 249) with the recovery of marble palettes bearing pigment, clay jars with traces of pigment, tattooing needles, as well as obsidian blades which, apart from shaving equipment (Carter 1994), could have also served as scarification tools. Though, the range of decorative motifs on the human body is limited due to the selection process of the figurines I included in my sample, there is also evidence for motifs on the faces of some Cycladic figurines in the form of vertical and horizontal red stripes (see also app. H, Fig. 21) (interpreted as markers of mourning by Hoffman 2002) that denoted a form of body decoration, possibly associated with a funerary custom (Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 54).

I would conclude, therefore, that the recovery of artefacts related to the manipulation of personal appearance in the form of attire-related fastenings, jewellery, tattooing equipment and toilet-kits suggest an increased elaboration in the way social and gender identity was embodied and communicated with an emphasis on the individual (Broodbank 2000, 248-9). The evidence for painted motifs on the figurines and the inclusion of painting matter in burials suggests that there was a parallel symbolism between figurines and humans that was expressed through body decoration (Papadatos 2003, 286). Moreover, though figurines have not allowed me to draw such conclusions, the association of colour palettes and bone tubes containing pigment with rich female burials (Sampson 1987, 23) indicates that women were active agents in the processes of visual expression and communication of

social identity. Men of high status may not have been excluded from this practice, albeit in the form of a different socially accepted medium, such as the shaving of hair or scarification suggested by the presence of obsidian blades in male burials (for Phourni see Maggidis 1998, Fig. 6.5), as well as military symbolism or the sea-faring symbolism that was often expressed on male-related frying-pans (Broodbank 2000, 249-251; for frying-pans and male burials see Sampson 1981, 58). The ritual use of figurines, therefore, shows an overlap with aspects borrowed from everyday practices which related to the making of social and gender identity. Such patterns, therefore, offer an insight into the ways in which symbolism defined social actors on the level of ideology (as expressed through figurines) and their living existence.

Another aspect related to decoration and symbolism is that expressed through the choice of pigment and its colour. In comparison to the Neolithic, there is a slight decrease in the range and combinations of colours that were used for the decoration of the figurines, although that again could have been the result of how colour survives on marble surfaces. In general, however, black was used to denote facial features and hair, while red was applied for the symbolic motifs on the faces and the body of figurines, as is also indicated by unprovenanced figurines (Hendrix 1998; Hoffman 2002). Blue was first used on figurines in the LN-FN period and is symbolically and practically linked it to the emergence of the copper age and blue azurite, a copper mineral. The same colour becomes much more widely used in the EBA, not only as pigment applied on the body, but also as a colour which emphasised facial features and the pubic area of the figurines (Hoffman 2002, 531). White is another colour that also continued from the Neolithic period (like red and black), but is not used as often, though I would argue that, as a defining category, it was replaced in the EBA period by the choice of white marble. If we now link the use of colour to the 'sex' of the figurines, we find that red most often decorated Female and Female form figurines on the face and forehead, the neck, chest, the back and the arms, as well as the lower body in the case of Female form models. Note here, that red paint has not survived on any of the Male figurines. This pattern, I should point out, seems to have been mainly a Cycladic practice. Black seems to have been restricted to its emphatic use on facial features, at least in the Cyclades. Interestingly, the Peloponnese exhibits a different repertoire regarding the use of colours (more brown and red and brown and cream combinations on Female and Female form figurines) which suggests a different tradition

regarding the symbolic marking of physical female bodies in life, but also a different set of ideological rules governing their lives.

A semiotic approach to the use of the specific colours on the basis of ethnographic and actual evidence can reveal to us the possible symbolism expressed through their application. Red, which has been linked to the ideas of bleeding, life and birth (Walisewska 1991, 39), as well as minerals and pigment (Chapman 2002, 51), and its application on Female and Female form figurines in the Cyclades could have depicted either body decoration as a result of scarification (hence the bleeding and flesh cuts), mourning custom (Hoffman 2002), the life-related symbolism applied in the form of body painting with the use of ochre, or menstruation. Though red was also used in the Neolithic, in the EBA we lack the evidence showing an emphasis on reproduction-related anatomical parts, which may suggest a move away from biological status to a more complex socially-constructed identity. Note also, that as in the Neolithic, red paint is absent from Male figurines, which could be an indication that men in both periods may have played a smaller role in the practice and perpetuation of ceremonial practices, if we accept the ideas regarding body decoration as symbolic, ritualised practices.

In the case of blue, ethnographically tends to be linked to water and celestial elements (Chapman 2002, 51; Walisewska 1991, 39), I would add that the link between the use of azurite and its copper source could also be associated with the use of metals. The much more extended use of blue in practices related to body decoration, but also on figurines in the EBA period, could have two meanings in the new socio-economic context: (a) that sea-faring (water blue) played a fundamental role in the lives of Aegean maritime communities on a social and symbolic level along with other sea-related emblems (Broodbank 2000, 249-251) and (b) that figurines of the Cycladic tradition acquired a new meaning in relation to a divine, celestial symbolism (sky blue) in the context of ancestor worship. It is possible, however, that the sphere of sea-faring, maritime activities, metallurgy and ideology overlapped. Interestingly, however, blue has not been found on any of the Male figurines (in the light of men's involvement in such activities), and the bone tubes containing blue pigment have been associated with female burials (Sampson 1987, 1988). Blue pigment decorating the female pubic area (Getz-Preziosi 1987, 54; Hendrix 1998, 11) and contained in female burials may have been symbolically expressing a link between women as spiritual

entities with an emphasis on reproduction as part of a maritime ideological belief, or an association between women as the source of life (element of water) in the context of demographically-sensitive coastal and island communities. In addition, if we accept the ritual role played by figurines, they may have served as protecting spirits in men-related maritime activities, and on a different level the decoration of actual female bodies in azurite blue would have expressed the link between women, ritual practices (also encompassing metallurgy-related aspects) and the spirit world. Finally, white, which was more common in the Neolithic and has daylight associations (Chapman 2002, 51), I would suggest in the EBA was symbolically represented and expressed through the medium of marble. In practical terms, marble was a surface on which painted symbolic messages could have been written and re-written depending on the cultural and ritual context in which they would have been employed (Hoffman 2002, 545; Papadatos 2003, 286). However, on a different level, the whiteness of marble may have expressed an almost luminous quality which could be indicating a ritual use of figurines as spiritual entities.

In summary, though the available evidence does not allow us to draw clear links between the use of decoration and the represented sex, the fact that Female figurines, rather than Male, carried such meaningful symbolism in terms of motifs and colour, would imply that women played a central role in the communication and maintenance of ideological knowledge, but also that the concept of femininity was relevant for their cosmological beliefs. The fact that some of the Female figurines were also modelled as pregnant can also be interpreted as an indication of female reproduction and the symbolic expression of women as a source of life at a time when the life of members of small island communities were highly valued (Broodbank 2000, 88; Hoffman 2002, 546). Apart from the symbolic links between womanhood and ideology, I would argue that figurines also carried a biographical value (Papadatos 2003, 286) (not contradicting their spiritual quality mentioned above, since ancestors, lineage heads or heroic individuals may have been elevated to a mythical, religious status) and embodied parallel practices in the lives of individuals as in the case of body decoration. The fact that body decoration (painting, tattooing) is linked with women, could imply that women also played a role in the communication of social identity (Turner 1995, 146) possibly interwoven with lineage history (Rainbird 2002, 237) and/or age-related stages (Joyce 2002, 15-25) at an intra-community level, while at the same time through the 'inscription' of such cultural practices

women also preserved information related to cultural identity (Hodder 1982; David et al. 1988, 378) in the macro-scale of inter-community Aegean contact. If men did indeed use the obsidian blades for scarification purposes, it would mean that they too were also responsible for such practices. Also, the category of Male "musicians" may have represented men singing and narrating the myths and stories of their community's past, pointing thus to a role played by men in the ritual sphere of EBA life. In the light of the surviving evidence, however, we should envisage a role played by women (but also possibly men in the lack of supporting evidence) in the communication of cultural and group identity in the diversified context of the EBA Aegean. Moreover, the enactment of such ritual-related practices (i.e. manipulation of the body surface), may have also served as mnemonic tools which would have served to 'write' the community history on the body and thus legitimate and convey claims over land resources and geographical boundaries. At the same time, such motifs also stood as cultural markers that could have signified valuable affiliations, kin relations, alliances, as well as social status for the purposes of exogamy, or endogamy. It is perhaps exactly this demographic movement that we are detecting in the paralleled movement of Cycladic imported figurines or imitated (by second generation Cycladic immigrants?) pieces from areas such as Euboia, the C. Mainland and Crete, as well as an ideological sharing of ideas.

Suggested use of figurines and implications for the understanding of gender

In comparison with the Neolithic figurines, in the EBA the evidence suggests a change in the way figurines were used, if not in their meaning. The information regarding figurines and their context of deposition, however, does not support the idea that they were used in the same way throughout the Aegean. The case of the E. Aegean in particular (in contrast to the Cyclades and Crete) may be reflecting just that, even though traces of mending and worn fragments of figurines inside Cycladic and Cretan burials indicate that they too circulated in settlements before they were deposited inside burials. In the case of figurines recovered from burials, therefore, despite seeing a different pattern in terms of deposition, the symbolic use expressed by them may have been comparable. Returning to the comparison with the Neolithic figurines, the much larger size of some figurines [exaggerated in the case of menhir-like Cycladic type forms on Thassos (Koukouli-

Chrysanthaki 1991)], the time expended for their manufacture and the skills required (Oustinoff 1984) indicate a higher material and symbolically-attached value than in the previous Neolithic period. In addition, their limited circulation in high status, rich burials in the Cyclades and Euboia indicates that they were associated with a small group of people as prestige objects, unlike the wider circulation of Neolithic figurines. Moreover, analyses have shown that the use of exotic cinnabar to denote red motifs on the Cycladic figurines, as well as the difficulty in recovering, processing and applying the coarse azurite for blue patterns reflect the special value and place that such objects would have held in EBA society (Hendrix 1998, 8; Mpirtacha 2003, 263). The fact that figurines were highly prized objects is also supported by the use of the same pigments for the decoration of other prestigious objects, such as marble vessels and containers (Mpirtacha 2003, 266, 268).

A change in use can also be supported by the higher standardisation of these human representations in the EBA, since the compliance with such traditions could have been a result of a shared belief system, lacking the self-projecting element of Neolithic figurines. Another important point is that the custom of placing figurines in burials occurs in the Cyclades, at the time of the first colonisation of the islands in the Aegean (Broodbank 2000, 144). This phenomenon can be explained as a result of colonisation and of the movement of people from their land of origin, in which case the figurines might have represented ancestral figures and their placement inside burials could have signified a continuation of this link in the after-life and the accompaniment by a protecting ancestor in the passage to a new existence. The increase of Cycladic figurine production and their placement inside burials in the EC I and II may have also been employed in the processes of intensified competition between communities, resources and claims to land. The preservation of lineage history, therefore, and cultural identity in the form of ancestor figures would have legitimised rights of communities and the special position of certain kin groups (some child burials suggest inherited status). Their biographical dimension was another element that could have served to narrate historical events or myths (Papadatos 2003, 287) and the application of colour and motifs would mean that they would be adapted depending on the context and situation that they were used in (Hoffman 2002, 545). Bearing all those changes in mind, I would suggest that though EBA figurines were deposited and used in a different way, they may not have been any more closely related to the religious sphere than in the Neolithic period, though they may have represented very

different ideas that were manipulated in different social mechanisms of constructing social status. For that reason, I would argue that the represented theme carried much more an element of an idealised image. For that reason, the gendered images served society in a much more formal way than in the Neolithic period. In that context, female and male representations need to be viewed as emblematic devices for the communication between groups in the same community which served to link similar groups of different communities, but also to demarcate cultural identity in the more extroverted character of the EBA Aegean.

III b. SOME THOUGHTS ON FIGURINE PRODUCTION AND GENDER ATTRIBUTION IN THE AEGEAN EBA

Comparable to the link between pottery production and women, stone-working and the processing of hard materials has also been linked to men in ethnographic models (Murdock 1973, 207). This is relevant since there a striking shift from clay to marble and stone in the EBA period. I have already explained the criticisms of such models in an earlier section, but will again mention the need to free ourselves in archaeology from such restricting frameworks and move towards more historically-grounded and contextual understandings of the available evidence.

For that reason, as with the Neolithic assemblage, I will aim to retrieve the answers from the EBA figurines themselves and through a comparison with the traits of the Neolithic corpus. The main change that I have noted is that there is a preference for sexless forms, as opposed to an exclusive predominance of female representations, which may indicate a shift from women to men being the main producers of figurines in the EBA. In addition, less emphasis is placed on reproductive and sexual aspects of figurines in general, and of female ones in particular, which may be pointing to a move away from the self-projecting element of Neolithic female figurines and hence from female producers in general. A similar argument can also be put forward in relation to the marked decrease in the fluidity and variety of postural repertoire and body modelling, especially contrasting to the Neolithic female figurines. This absence of the self-projection element that was so

apparent in the Neolithic with its link with female manufacturers may be pointing out that the change we are witnessing in the EBA may have been the result of a shift from women to men as the main gender involved in most aspects of the modelling of figurines. Women may have been involved in other stages of figurine production, such as the application of decoration or processing of pigments, as suggested by the inclusion of related finds (bone tubes containing pigment) in female burials. It is also possible that at least some of the Female figurines (the pregnant variations) may have been modelled by women. Moreover, the fact that the production of marble figurines required more stages (from extraction of marble for the larger pieces to surface polishing, procurement and processing of pigments), makes it very likely that both genders contributed to a lesser or higher degree. There is, however, a move away from the fluidity and variety of female modelling that was so prominent in the Neolithic assemblage, and that may in fact be an indication that men may have had more control over the gendered images and ideologically loaded symbols that circulated in the EBA Aegean. Getz-Gentle has drawn a link between producers of stone vessels and figurines (1996, xiv, 26, 101, 102) and has argued elsewhere that the stone vase producers were men (1996, 2). Even though figurines themselves may demonstrate such a break from the more female-related Neolithic tradition, the assumption that women were completely excluded from all stages of stone carving cannot be supported by the evidence and further indicates the gender-related biases regarding the increase of technological complexity in a given craft or activity and its shift from women to men (e.g. Murdock 1973, 212).

An alternative hypothesis worth considering is that women may have been as active as men in the production of figurines, but the higher degree of social formality present in the EBA period dictated the modelling of gendered images and hence the rigidity of the female representations themselves, void of self-projecting qualities. It is difficult to point to which hypothesis is more plausible, but the unquestionable observation is that the change in the modelling of figurines in the EBA reflects either a shift in the genders that were mainly involved in their production, or a new order that affected their representation, or both.

III c. CONCLUDING REMARKS ON GENDER IN EBA SOCIETY THROUGH THE STUDY OF FIGURINES

I believe that the systematic and selective analysis figurines, the detailed deconstruction of their symbolic facets, as well as the incorporation of other evidence related to the everyday lives of gendered individuals, has allowed me to draw a much fuller picture of how gender categories operated in the EBA Aegean. I hope I have dispelled some of the automatic gender stereotypes that have coloured our interpretations, especially as they have been put forward in the light of the transition from the Neolithic to the EBA period. By tracing the continuous use of figurines throughout earlier prehistory, I have been able to place them in a changing social context where the production and employment of gendered images was adapted in a way that would best serve the needs of communities and individuals to define themselves, remember their past and their origins, but also to create links with other groups.

In terms of gender, I have brought to the surface the way in which women or womanhood as a place of symbolic origin played a central role in the way EBA society was maintained and ordered on a social and ideological level. Also, the equal participation of women in the spheres of wealth and rank in EBA society as attested through grave goods matched with the high value attached to figurines (female types in this case), warns us against seeing the EBA as a period in which women's status was marked by an automatic deterioration. In addition, the Female "hunter-warrior" figurines [more such unprovenanced (excluded from the analysis) examples are known] should also challenge our perceptions of passive women, at an actual and/or symbolic level. The case of Ambiguous figurines [more such unprovenanced (excluded from the analysis) examples exist] may have represented an actual third gender which again exposes our biases in the general way prehistoric Aegean societies have been approached along a bipolar gender axis and reveals a more complex social organisation. Grave goods and artefacts related to the manipulation of personal appearance, but also emblems, however, do suggest a greater polarity in the way male and female roles were constructed and communicated. In the context of higher social complexity in comparison to the Neolithic when the importance of social status became more central, the increase of more abstract and Asexual figurines may have also expressed more emphasis placed on the idea of social status over gender identity.

The ideas of enchainment and fractal processes in partible relations as expressed by Chapman (2000, 2001) and Fowler (2004) have already been presented earlier with regards to the Neolithic period and figurines (see *Chapter 7, II c*). In the case of the EBA it is possible that similar exchanges that aimed at the formation and maintenance of social bonds may have operated in the context of the living as in the case of the communities of the North Aegean, but also in the Cyclades or Crete where evidence for figurines from settlement strata (Doumas 1977, 61), their weathered appearance and signs of repair (Doumas 1977, 63) suggest that figurines were taken out of circulation for their deposition in burials. The mortuary evidence from the Cyclades and Crete, however, and more specifically the inclusion of fragmented figurines inside graves, may be an indication of enchainment between the living, the dead and the ancestors through the deposition of gendered symbols, as suggested by Chapman for the Hamangian figurines (2000, 79). The fact that the figurines circulating in the living and mortuary sphere represented gender identities also demonstrates the central role played by gender symbolism in the creation of personhood through the transaction involving the exchange and circulation of anthropomorphic figurines in EBA Aegean communities (see Fowler 2004, 88).

As far as the relationships between genders are concerned, despite the higher complexity and polarisation of gender roles that is evident in the EBA, I cannot argue that one gender had power over the other. The burial record indicates that gender did not play a part in social differentiation, since both men and women were often buried even inside the same tombs and in a way that does not suggest differential treatment, though Minoan tholoi have been estimated to have included more men than women, but there is no evidence to indicate that men were buried separately from women (Cosmopoulos 1995, 26-7). Moreover, the participation of both genders in spheres of high rank, but also the lack of any gender-excluding patterns among more humble groups as demonstrated by the poorer burials, cannot support the supremacy of men over women. Yes, the way men and women expressed their identity and the role they played in their society was different, but that suggests to me that there was a complementary relationship between genders rather than one characterised by a power struggle. I believe that such evidence of an imbalance does become apparent in later phases of the Aegean prehistory and its association with the emergence of the EBA, therefore, is premature and further exposes our modern preconceptions regarding the association of complexity with women's low role in society.

IV. FIGURINES, GENDER AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE UNDERSTANDING OF EARLY AEGEAN PREHISTORY

The study of anthropomorphic figurines through a gender approach has revealed a number of aspects relating to how gender was symbolically expressed, how gender categories were defined relationally, embodied and how they reflected socio-economic changes. Moreover, my analysis and interpretation has proven, I hope, that when figurines are approached as symbolic material culture, we gain a more in-depth knowledge of prehistoric societies, than if we label them as objects of aesthetic beauty or solely as religious insignia. The realisation that behind the production of aesthetically pleasing forms and ideological messages, lies the intention of prehistoric people to express their understanding and ordering of their world, can lead us to much more valuable insights into early societies. Gender is central to these processes of categorising and shaping society and ideology, and unless we include it as an analytical tool in our interpretations, we will always be limited, in our attempts to grasp the underlining mechanisms of past societies.

In the case of the early prehistoric Aegean, there is a remarkable lack of systematic studies of the aspects of gender and, as a result, gender has not been considered a shaping factor for these early societies. Without the awareness of how gender defines society, many interpretations have been based on unfounded assumptions to explain social complexity according to an evolutionary model in which men's and women's relationships are pre-determined. In these terms, the Neolithic has been equated with a higher dominance of women, followed by the EBA when women fell from grace and men gained control. My main objection to these suggested models is that far from seeing a uniform, evolutionary line of events in which gender would have followed a similar line, I have been able to detect phases within the Neolithic period when gender roles seem to have been much more relevant for the ordering of society (LN) than other stages (FN), when we should be expected to see a higher elaboration in terms of the general material record or the figurines themselves. In addition, I have been able to recognise more than two genders in Neolithic and EBA societies which casts doubts on models advocating a gender dichotomy. Moreover, the evidence cannot support the scenario that women enjoyed a higher status in the Neolithic or that they came under the control of men in the EBA period. I have always been able to find counter examples that have questioned the over-simplified explanation

according to which any signs of relative (but also ephemeral, if I consider specific phases that stand out more in their cultural and temporal context) complexity have been taken to mark the period of women's suppression.

Bearing in mind that despite the differentiation of gender roles I have not been able to detect power inequalities between genders, we should re-consider the basis on which social and economic processes operated. Some of the aspects that may need to be reviewed in a gender archaeology framework is that of agricultural and craft production, since the results that I have been able to provide show a much higher element of sharing, collaboration and compatibility in many aspects of life than was previously suggested. Moreover, inherent in the nature of archaeology is our tendency to detect patterns that stand out in a more conspicuous way, and that is why we are often deflected from gaining a picture from a more representative sample of society. In the case of the early Aegean societies, therefore, the gender relationships of the majority of EBA households may have changed very little from the social arrangement in the Neolithic period when the contribution of both genders was necessary for their economic viability. In the light of the eidoloplastic evidence and figurines, therefore, we should not only review our androcentric interpretations when explaining the societies of the early prehistoric Aegean, but we should also look more closely at patterns that have been taken to signify social and economic complexity in the transition from the Neolithic to the EBA period. Gender is a good indicator of the level of labour division, production and social complexity and a closer look at the evidence from the early prehistoric Aegean suggests that the Neolithic and the EBA do not represent an uninterrupted process of social evolution or a past that can be written as a series of male achievements. Our understanding of the past can be rectified by realising the economic and cultural contribution of women and the level of collaboration between genders that was essential in early prehistoric communities.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

OLD IDOLS, NEW ICONS: SUGGESTIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND THE SCOPE FOR NEW RESEARCH IN AEGEAN PREHISTORY

I hope that my thesis has proposed a new way of studying the anthropomorphic figurines of the Neolithic and EBA Aegean, and has opened up new possibilities for the understanding of gender roles and prehistoric Aegean society as a whole.

Part of the new perspective generated by my research lies in the methodological and theoretical approach that I have adopted. The systematic and uniform recording and analysis of Neolithic and EBA figurines has allowed me to move away from the pre-set epistemological boundaries in the sphere of Aegean figurine studies that had divided Neolithic from EBA figurines, otherwise similar categories of artefacts demonstrating an unbroken tradition of manufacture from the aceramic Neolithic and throughout the EBA period. Part of my analysis of the two sets of data is also the compilation of a consistent and comprehensive decoration database for both periods that has allowed me to establish the reading of motifs themselves, but more importantly to detect variations in symbolism that otherwise may have been overlooked. In addition, a similar detailed recording of the postural repertoire also revealed how the 'language of the body' of the figurines is a significant parameter for the understanding of gender embodiment and expression in the two periods of early Aegean prehistory. Also, the analysis of body typology and the technical aspects of figurine production opened another window for the study of gender through Neolithic and EBA Aegean figurines. Another suggestion that emerged from my work is the correlation and comparison of the results from the figurine analysis with other types of available evidence that provided me with a canvas on which I could draw a wider picture of gender and society in the prehistoric Aegean. All the above decisions (among others) regarding methodological tactics, as well as a

conscious intention to theorise figurines as expressions of symbolic material culture (in contrast to an art historical perspective), have resulted in a critical review of earlier approaches that had artificially divorced Neolithic and EBA figurines and supported an equally artificial model of gender equality followed by patriarchy. Moreover, I also aimed to avoid (as much as possible) the modern preconceptions regarding gender behaviour and roles that have coloured our interpretations of the Aegean Neolithic and EBA Aegean society. Finally, the employment of figurines (of EBA figurines especially) has demonstrated the scope in figurine studies for the study and understanding of Aegean prehistoric gender roles and society, beyond the realm of religion to which they are often confined.

Starting with the discussion of Neolithic figurines and gender, my intention to move away from the Mother-Goddess theory was stated early on, but I believe that I have also disproved it on a number of levels. An obvious point that revealed earlier prejudices in the way the whole corpus of Aegean Neolithic figurines has been studied is the emphasis on the recognition and discussion of other, largely ignored, represented categories (such as Female form, Asexual and Ambiguous figurines). The recording of the variation in the way the human body was modelled has revealed a far more intricate mechanism in which gender may have been constructed and negotiated and a lesser degree of dichotomy (as the case of Ambiguous figurines demonstrates), as opposed to the overemphasised predominance of female representations. The identification of M figurines and the conclusions regarding the modelling of seated M figurines, as well as the presence of other male symbolism circulating in Neolithic sites, also urge us to realise that Neolithic Aegean communities were organised on a much more complex base than earlier interpretations would have us believe. Finally, the analysis and detection of changes in the decorative repertoire of figurines have allowed me to observe the way Neolithic society may have shifted towards a more socially-bound construction and communication of gender in its Late and Final phases.

In the case of the EBA figurines, my research has moved away from the traditional interpretations and typology-bound approaches that have approached them from an art historical perspective. If we view them instead as an expression of symbolic material culture, we can achieve an understanding of the societies that produced them. In addition, the application of the same systematic methodology as for the study of Neolithic figurines has allowed me to detect differences regarding gender symbolism in

the transition from one period to the next. The critical re-examination of the represented image has also allowed me to review and 'correct' some of the androcentric assumptions that have misrepresented the corpus of EBA figurines and the resulting scenarios that aimed at stressing the transition from an earlier matrifocal to a patriarchal system of social organisation. Unveiling some of the false presumptions that certain categories (e.g. "hunter-warriors", "musicians" and seated figurines) constitute an apparent proof of men's elevated social status, has exposed some of the biases that have coloured the way Aegean prehistory has been portrayed through modern and artificially neat schemes in an attempt to pinpoint the birth of social structure as we experience it today. Though EBA figurines indicate a higher level of control over their production and circulation, the evidence does not point to gender hierarchy. I have suggested, therefore, that we should trace the beginnings of patriarchy in later stages of the Bronze Age when the emergence of palaces would have had a much greater impact on prehistoric social organisation in the Aegean.

Furthermore, the recognition of figurine types that do not fall into the clear categories of male and female, the possibility of a third gender (Ambiguous figurines), as well as symbolic aspects apparent in their decoration and in the form of other media, have exposed some of the earlier biases and hint at a more complex way in which gender was constructed in the EBA Aegean. In addition, by drawing together other types of evidence, such as burials, material symbolism and objects of personal material culture, this further allowed me to test whether the hypothesis of male supremacy can be supported outside the possible 'idealised' figurine imagery and eventually argue against it.

After summarising the main points of the present contribution to the study of Aegean figurine studies and gender archaeology, I finally wish to evaluate the resulting implications, but also the scope for new avenues of research in the field of Aegean prehistory. Starting with the ramifications of the understanding of gender roles and dynamics that I have proposed, we need to review those interpretations that argue for the emergence of a patriarchal EBA society at the expense of women who lost their prominent position after the Neolithic. Without realising it, those archaeologists who readily argue against the Mother-Goddess hypothesis, are just as culpable in arguing for the development of a patriarchal social order for the EBA society and I cite this not in the name of political correctness, but simply because the evidence is not there to support

such scenarios. For this reason, whereas figurines and other related symbolism have been taken as proof of the dominance of one gender over the other, my analysis should alert us against such oversimplified and uncritical assumptions and against the exclusion of women from the interpretation of Aegean EBA societies. Moreover, we need to realise that early prehistoric Aegean communities were far less fragmented in terms of gender roles. Instead we should envisage a society which was more reflexive in its social processes and more reliant on complementary parts played by gendered actors. As a result, the implications also affect the way Aegean prehistoric society and economy is interpreted, since the issues of equality, power, interaction and negotiation reflected through the prism of gender display the spectrum of the social system as a whole. Furthermore, by introducing gender archaeology studies to the general field of early Aegean prehistory (which are largely lacking from it), we open up opportunities for understanding how society operated, while at the same time we avoid drawing generalised conclusions that ignore gender, one of the most dynamic and perhaps the only omni-present parameter that is active in the categorisation of society. Finally, I want to believe that my thesis will open up possibilities and encourage more studies in Aegean prehistory on the subject of gender by demonstrating how the construction of a clear research agenda and an innovative look at the data can widen and enrich our understanding of ancient societies and finally encompass women in our narratives of Aegean prehistory.

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VOLUME II: APPENDICES

Appendix A

Maps

Fig. 1 Map of the Aegean showing the main Neolithic sites that have yielded figurines

Key

1. Knossos	**11**. Eutresis	**21**. Theopetra
2. Saliagos	**12**. Haironeia	**22**. Otzaki
3. Kephala	**13**. Elateia	**23**. Agia Sofia
4. Athens	**14**. Pyrasos	**24**. Servia
5. Lerna	**15**. Dimini	**25**. Nea Nikomedeia
6. Franchthi	**16**. Sesklo	**26**. Dikili Tash
7. Asea	**17**. Tsangli	**27**. Sitagroi
8. Kouphovouno	**18**. Achilleion	**28**. Dimitra
9. Malthi	**19**. Prodromos	**29**. Paradeisos
10. Corinth	**20**. Plateia Magoula	**30**. Paradimi

Fig. 2 Map of the Aegean showing the main EBA sites that have yielded figurines

Key

1. Palaikastro	**2**. Zakros	**3**. Vasiliki	**4**. Trapeza	**5**. Archanes
6. Pyrgos	**7**. Knossos	**8**. Platanos	**9**. Koumasa	**10**. Lebena
11. A. Triada	**12**. Phylakopi	**13**. Daskaleio Kavos		
14. Naxos:	Akrotiri, Aplomata, Lakkoudes, Louros, Spedos			
15. Paros :	Glypha, Koukounaries, Pyrgos			
16. Amorgos	**17**. Ios	**18**. Thera	**19**. Antiparos: Krassades	
20. Despotiko:	Leivadi,	Zoumbaria		
21. Syros: Kastri		**22**. Keos: Agia Eirini		
23. Corinth	**24**. Zygouries	**25**. Tiryns	**26**. Lerna	**27**. Kouphovouno
28. A. Kosmas		**29**. Eutresis	**30**. Manika	**31**. Pefkakia
32. Servia	**33**. Mandalo	**34**. Skala Sotiros		**35**. Poliochni
36. Thermi	**37**. Emborio	**38**. Tigani		

Appendix B

Chapter 4: Figures

Fig. 1 Example of entry in table "Main Catalogue"

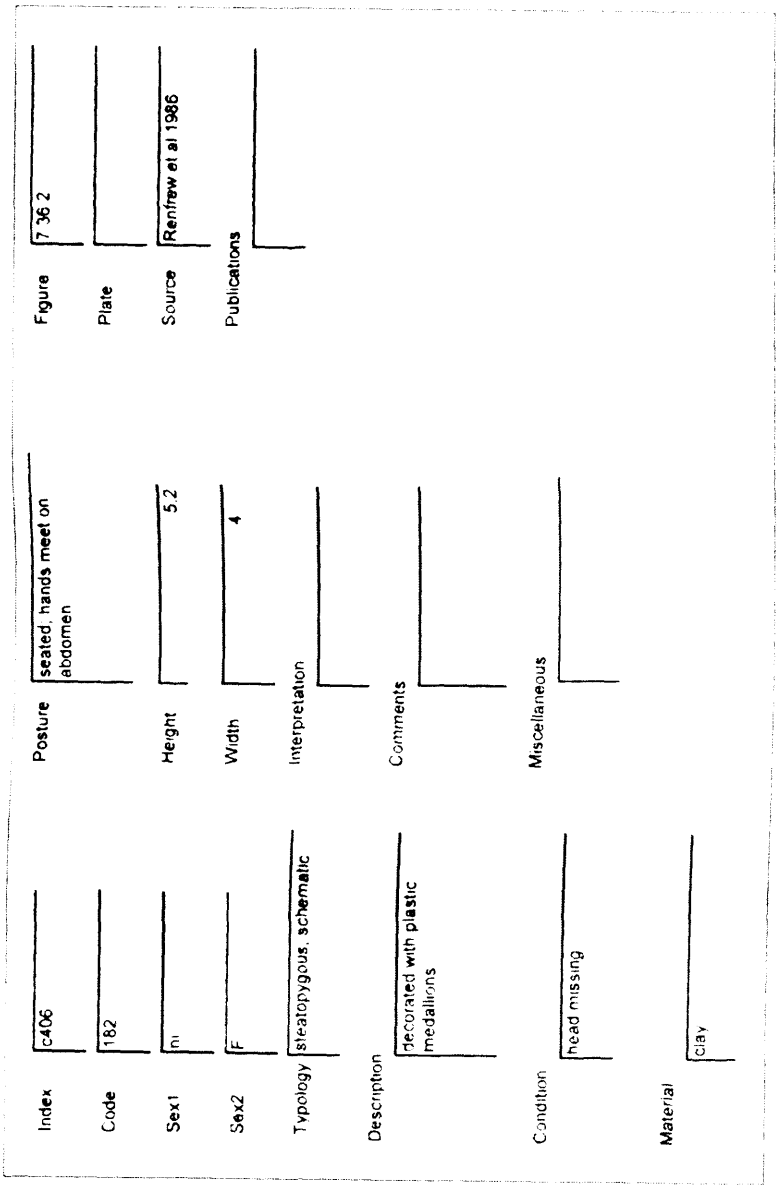


Fig. 2 Example of entry in table "Attributes"

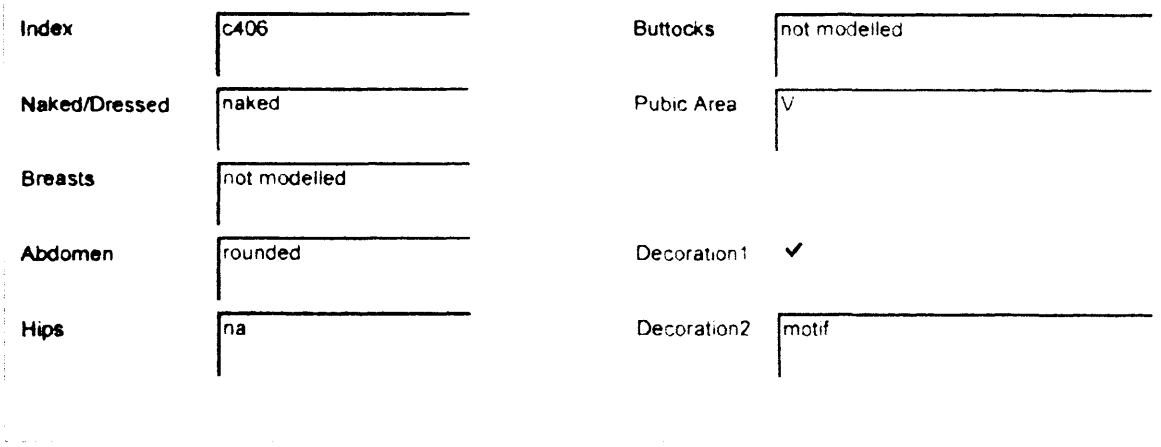


Fig. 3 Example of entry in table "Site/Date"

Index	Site	Area
c406	Achilleion	Thessaly
Date-broad	Date-context	Date-typology
M	MN	MN
Site type		
os		
Context		
house		
Stratigraphy		
IVB/A-2-1/stone house ("shrine")		

Fig. 4 Example of entry in table "Context"

Index	c406	Debitage		Pottery	✓	Features associated-direct	✓	Oven	
Site	Achilleion	Figurines, anthr.	✓	Refuse	✓	Features associated-phase		Paving	
Finds comments	figurine c402, painted pottery, "cultic" eq., clay phallus	Figurines, animal		Weapons		Architectural remains		Pit	
		House model		Whorls		Cooking area		Platform	
Finds associated-direct	✓	Kandila		Stamp seal		Bins		Refuse area	
Finds associated-phase		Loom weight		Tools		Burial		Tool area	✓
Anchor, clay		Marble vessels				Fire pit		Room	
Bones, animal		Metal-working				Floor		Tool preparation area	
Bones, human		Obsidian				Food preparation area			
Cremation vessel		Organic remains				Hearth			
Crucible, clay		Ornaments				House			
Equipment		Oven model				2-room structure			
"Cultic" equipment	✓	Pierced disk							

Fig. 5 Example of entry in table "Decoration"

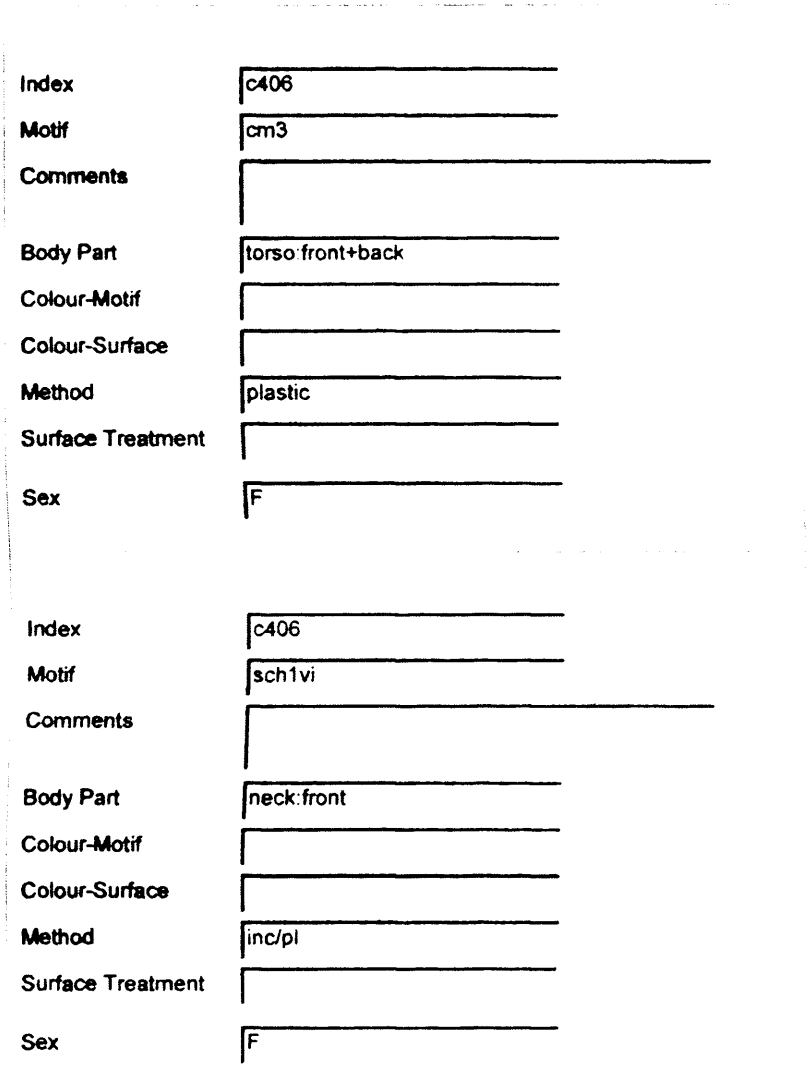
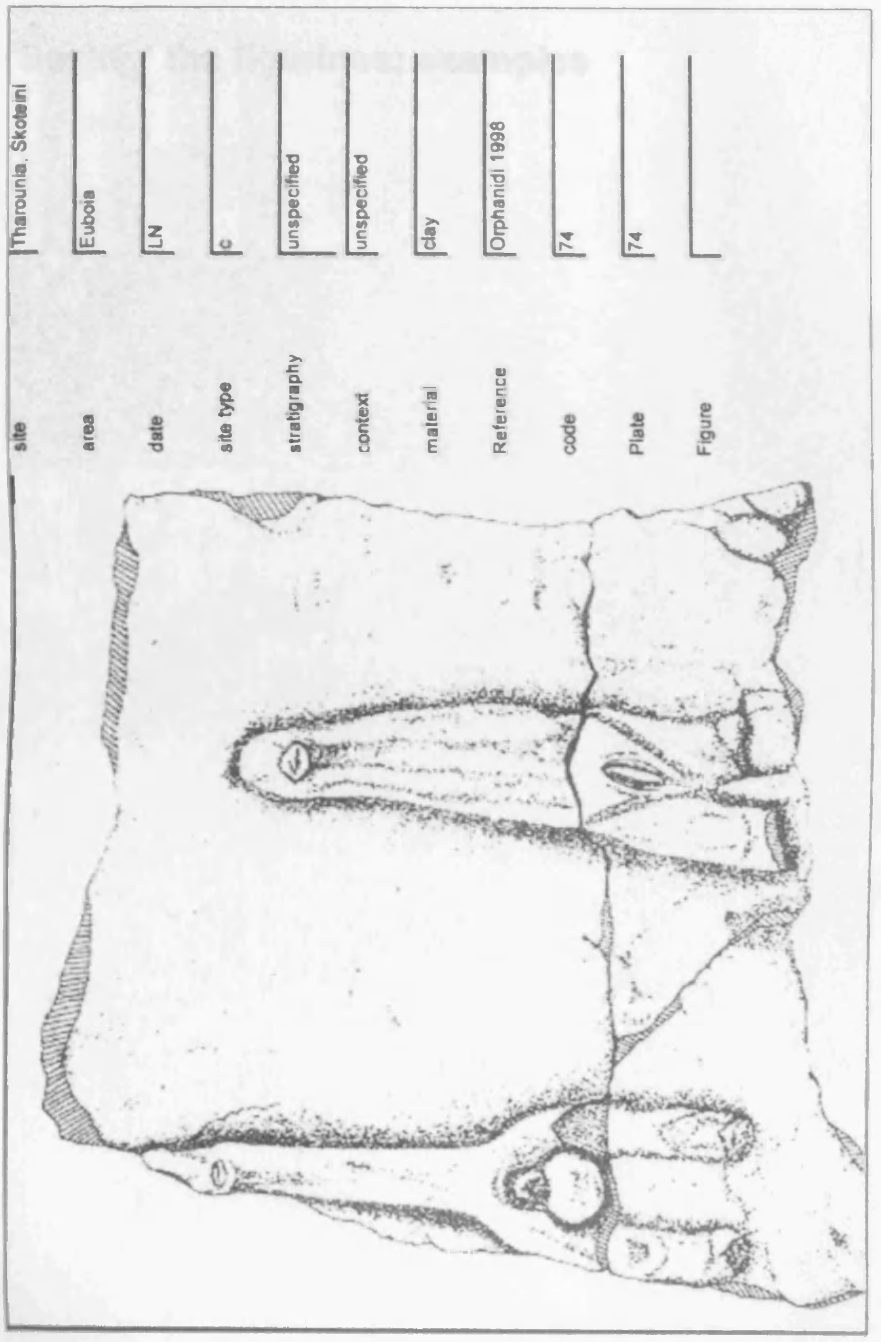


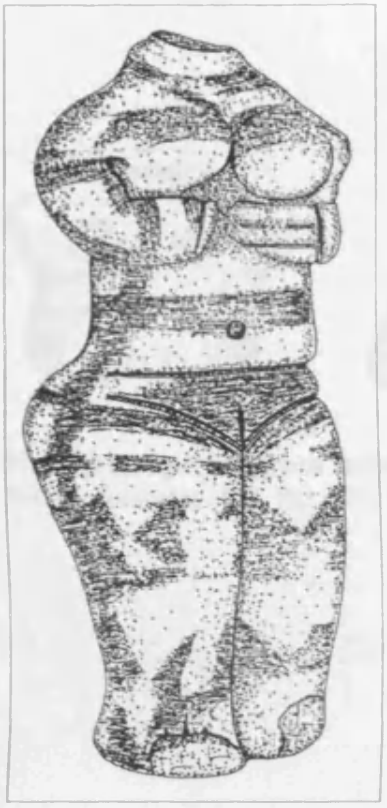
Fig. 6 Example of entry in table "Gender Symbolism"



Appendix C

'Sexing' the figurines: examples

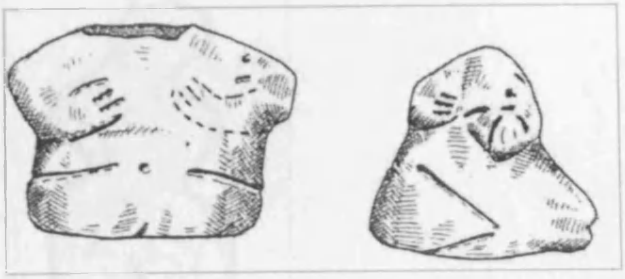
Fig. 1 Example of "Female" figurines



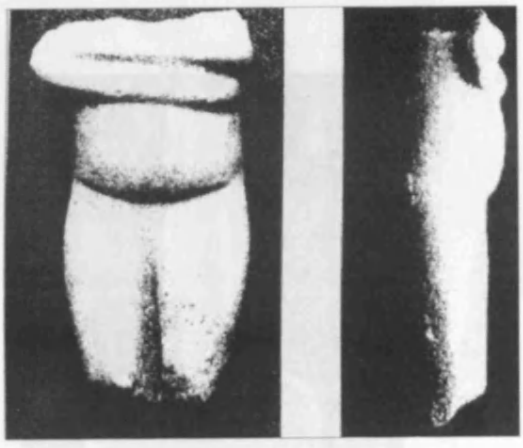
Neolithic figurine from Chaironeia
Source: Orphanidi 1998, Pl. 61

EBA figurine from Spedos
Source: Marangou 1990, Pl. 156

Fig. 2 Examples of "Probably Female" figurines



Neolithic figurine from Achilleion
Source: Gimbutas 1989, Fig. 7.31: 1



EBA figurine from A. Eirini, Keos
Source: Caskey 1971, Pl. 18

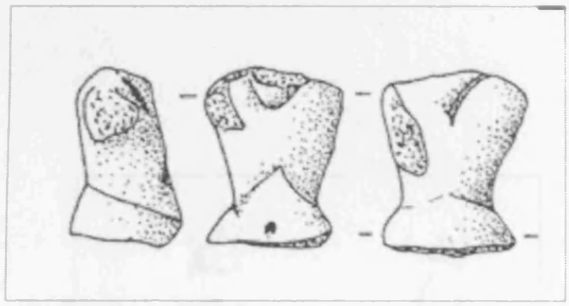
Fig. 3 Examples of "Female form" figurines

Neolithic figurine from Kitsos
Source: Orphanidi 1998, Pl. 67

EBA figurine from Akrotiri, Naxos
Source: Marangou 1990, Pl. 146

Fig. 4 Examples of "Probably Female form" figurines

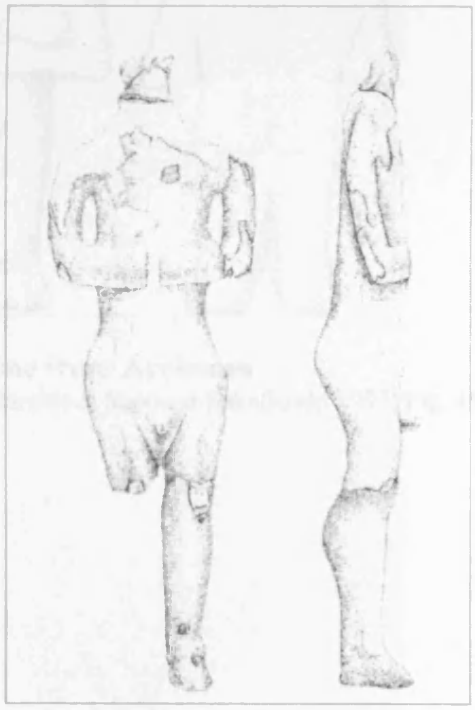
Neolithic figurine from Vasilika
Source: Grammenos 1984, Fig. 10



EBA figurine from Pefkakia
Source: Weißhaar 1989, Pl. 66

Fig. 5 Examples of "Male" figurines

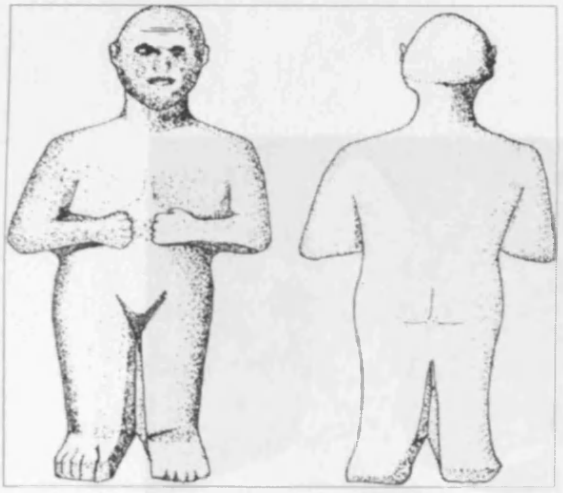
Neolithic figurine from Larisa
Source: Orphanidi 1998, Pl. 53



EBA figurine from Akrotiri, Thera
Source: Sotirakopoulou 1998, Pl. 14a-d

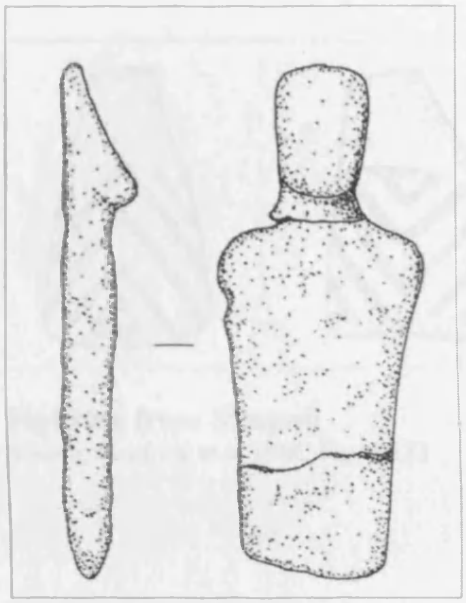
Fig. 6 Examples of "Probably Male" figurines

Neolithic Figurine from Pefkakia
Source: Michaud 1971, Fig. 316



EBA figurine from Archanes
Source: Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Fig. 495

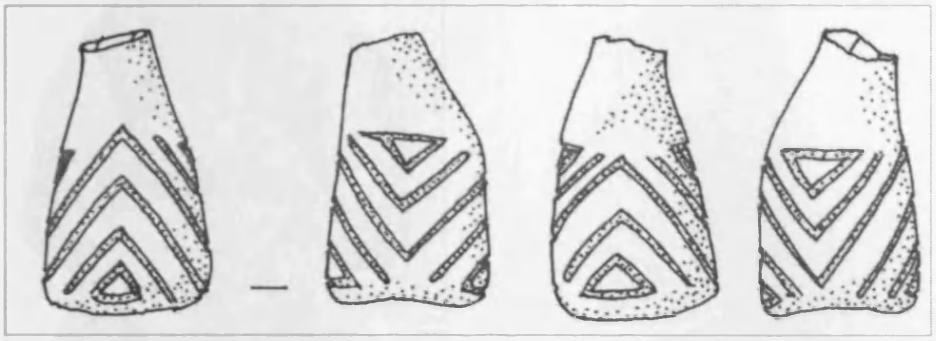
Fig. 7 Examples of "Asexual" figurines



Figurine from Korykeion Antron
Source: Orphanidi 1998, Pl. 66

Figurine from Antiparos
Source: Fitton 1989, Pl. 18

Fig. 8 Examples of "Probably Asexual" figurines



Figurine from Sitagroi
Source: Renfrew et al 1986, Fig. 9.133

Figurine from Thermi
Source : Lamb 1936, Pl. XXI

Fig. 9 Examples of "Ambiguous" figurines

Figurine from Sesklo
Source: Hourmouziades 1973, Pl. 7

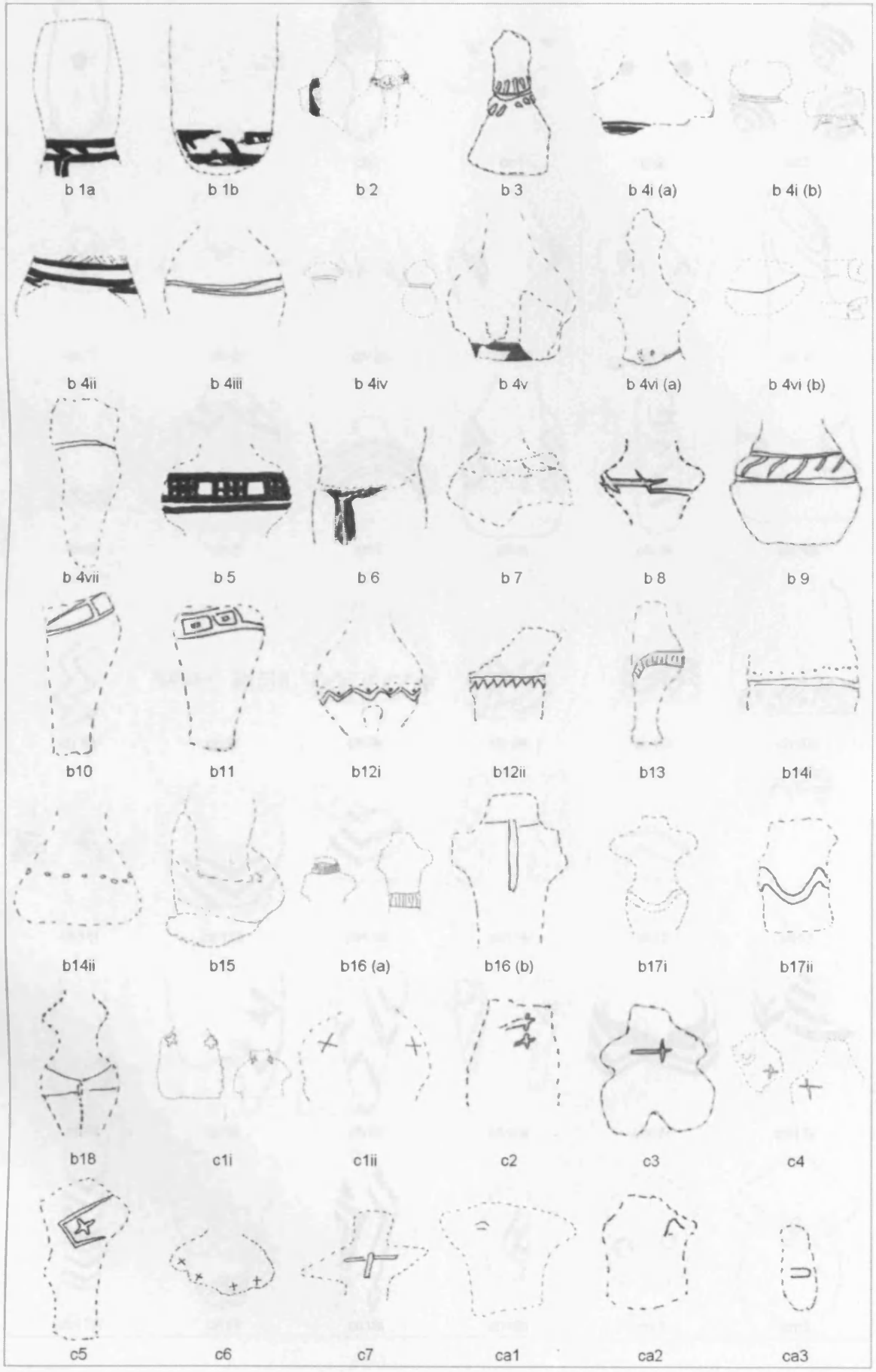
Figurine from Akrotiri, Thera
Source: Sotirakopoulou 1998, Pl. 16a-d

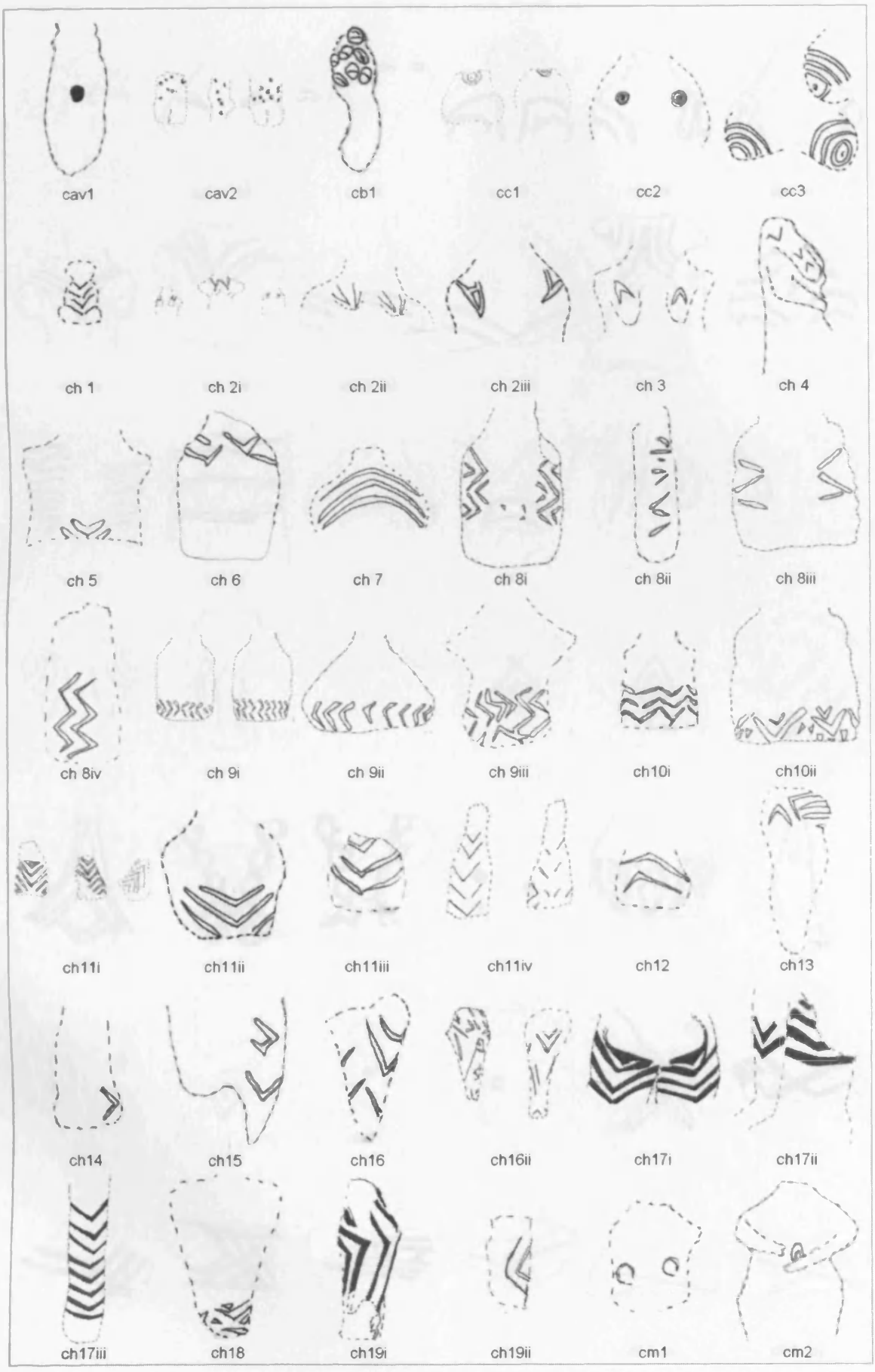
Appendix D

Catalogue of decorative motifs and select modelled attributes*

*Sketches not to scale.
Dashed lines mark the outline of whole or isolated parts of figurines.
Occasionally more than one sketched variation corresponds to one motif.

Fig. 1 Uniform catalogue of motifs compiled from Neolithic and EBA decorated figurines

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cb1
cc1
cc2
cc3
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ch 2i
ch 2ii
ch 2iii
ch 3
ch 4
ch 5
ch 6
ch 7
ch 8i
ch 8ii
ch 8iii
ch 8iv
ch 9i
ch 9ii
ch 9iii
ch10i
ch10ii
ch11i
ch11ii
ch11iii
ch11iv
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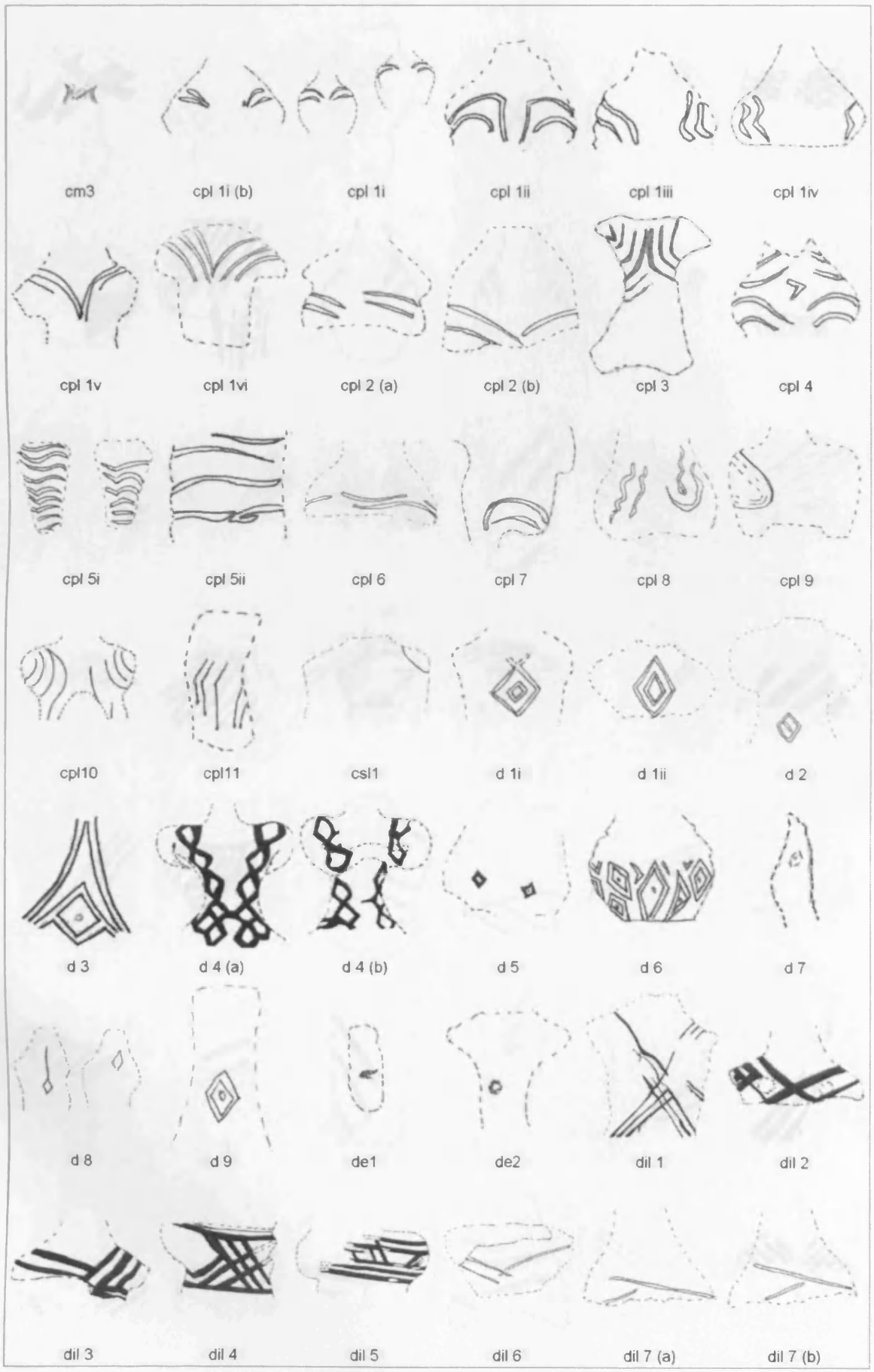
ch17ii
ch17iii
ch18
ch19i
ch19ii
cm1
cm2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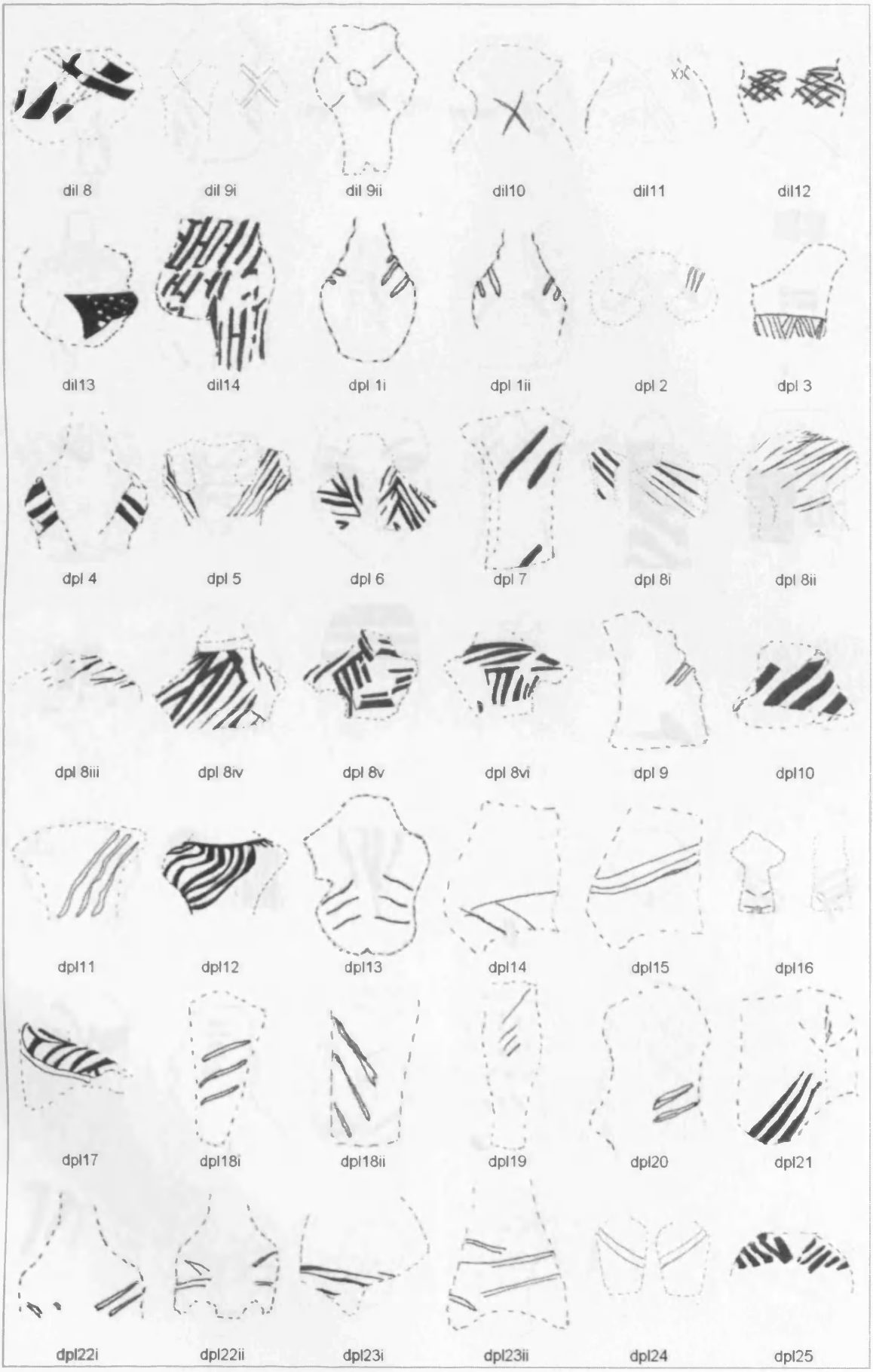
cpl 1i
cpl 1ii
cpl 1iii
cpl 1iv
cpl 1v
cpl 1vi
cpl 2 (a)
cpl 2 (b)
cpl 3
cpl 4
cpl 5i
cpl 5ii
cpl 6
cpl 7
cpl 8
cpl 9
cpl10
cpl11
csl1
d 1i
d 1ii
d 2
d 3
d 4 (a)
d 4 (b)
d 5
d 6
d 7
d 8
d 9
de1
de2
dil 1
dil 2
dil 3
dil 4
dil 5
dil 6
dil 7 (a)
dil 7 (b)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dpl 6
dpl 7
dpl 8i
dpl 8ii
dpl 8iii
dpl 8iv
dpl 8v
dpl 8vi
dpl 9
dpl10
dpl11
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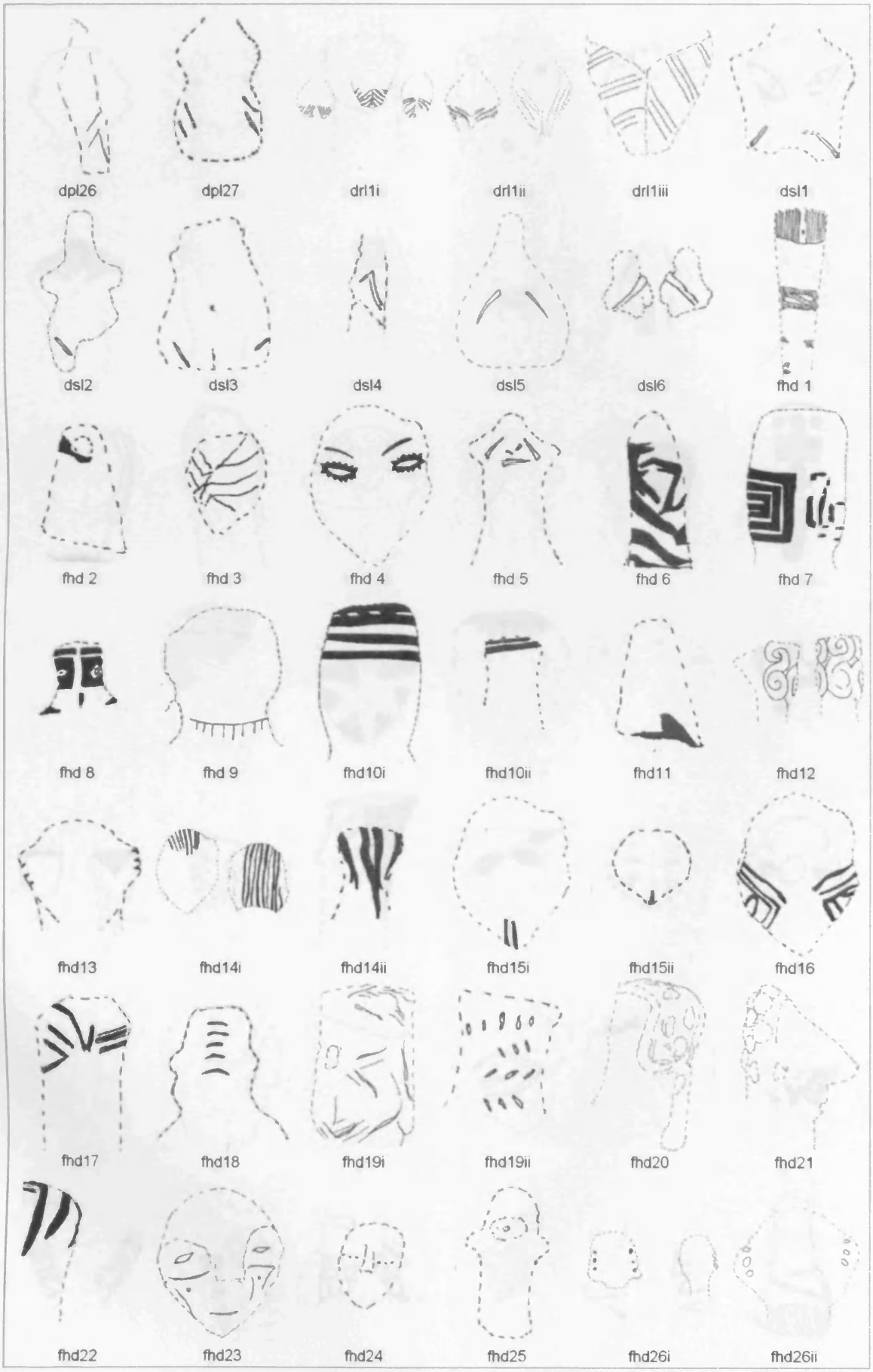
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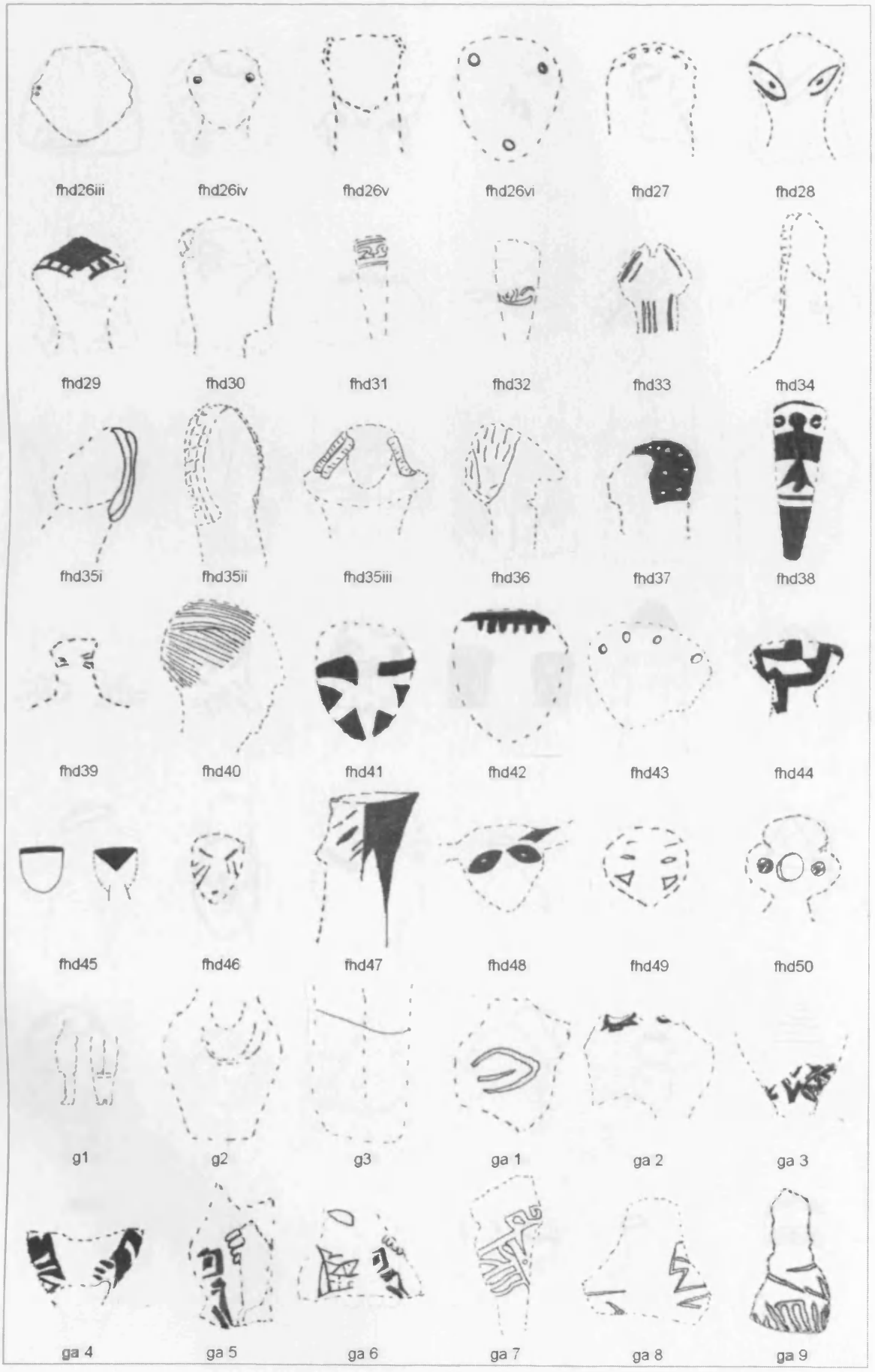
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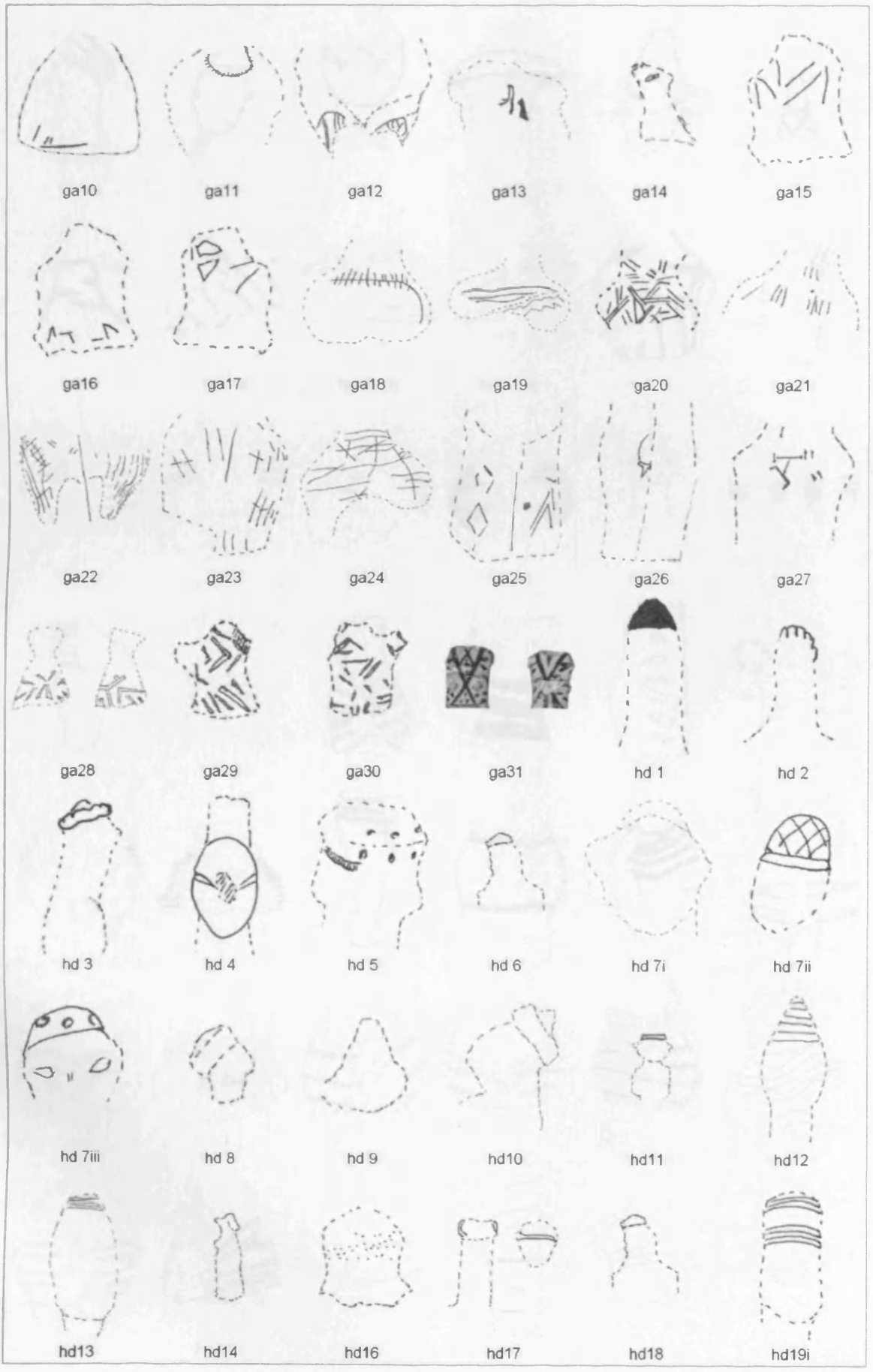
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ga31
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hd 3
hd 4
hd 5
hd 6
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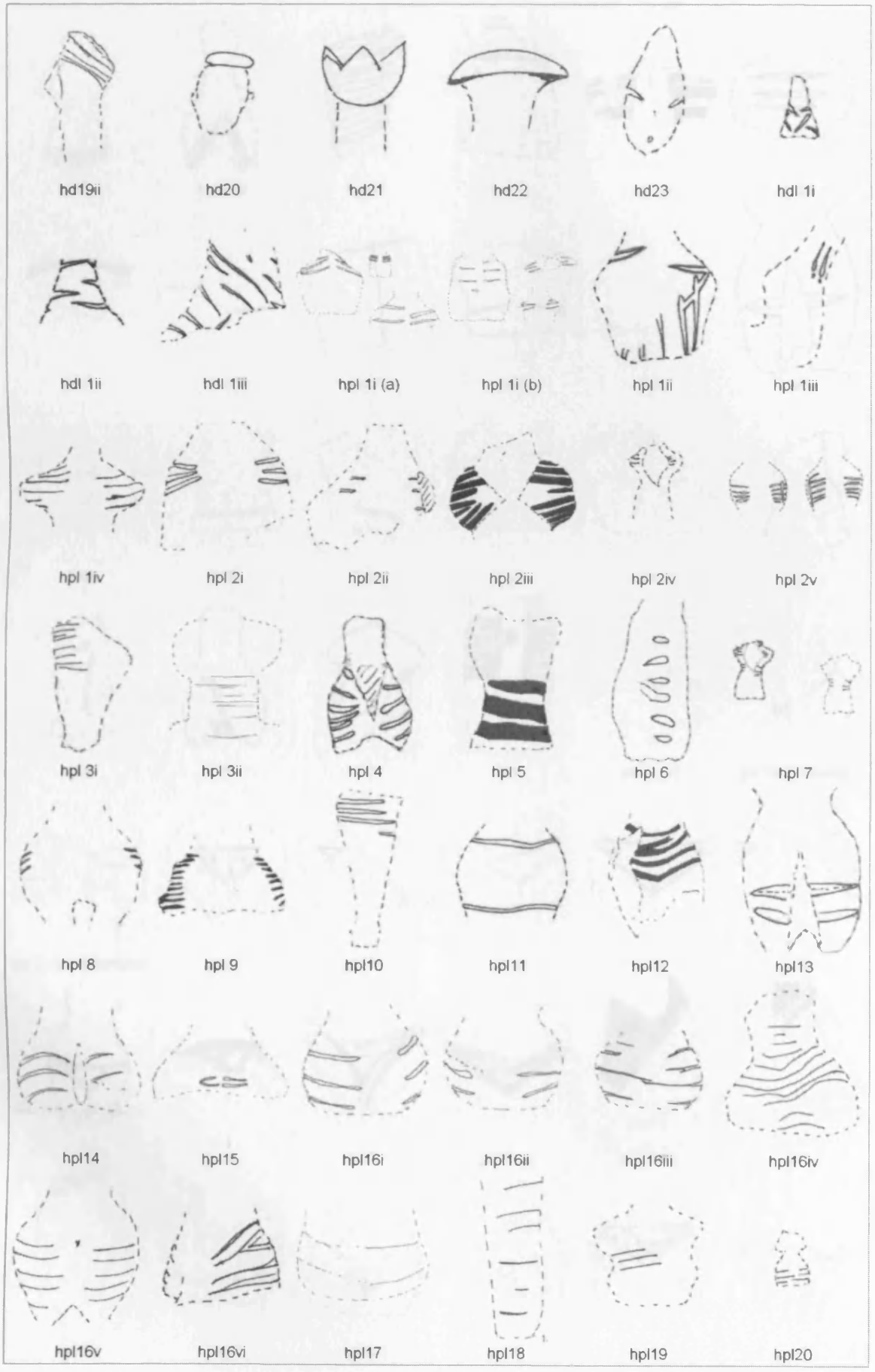
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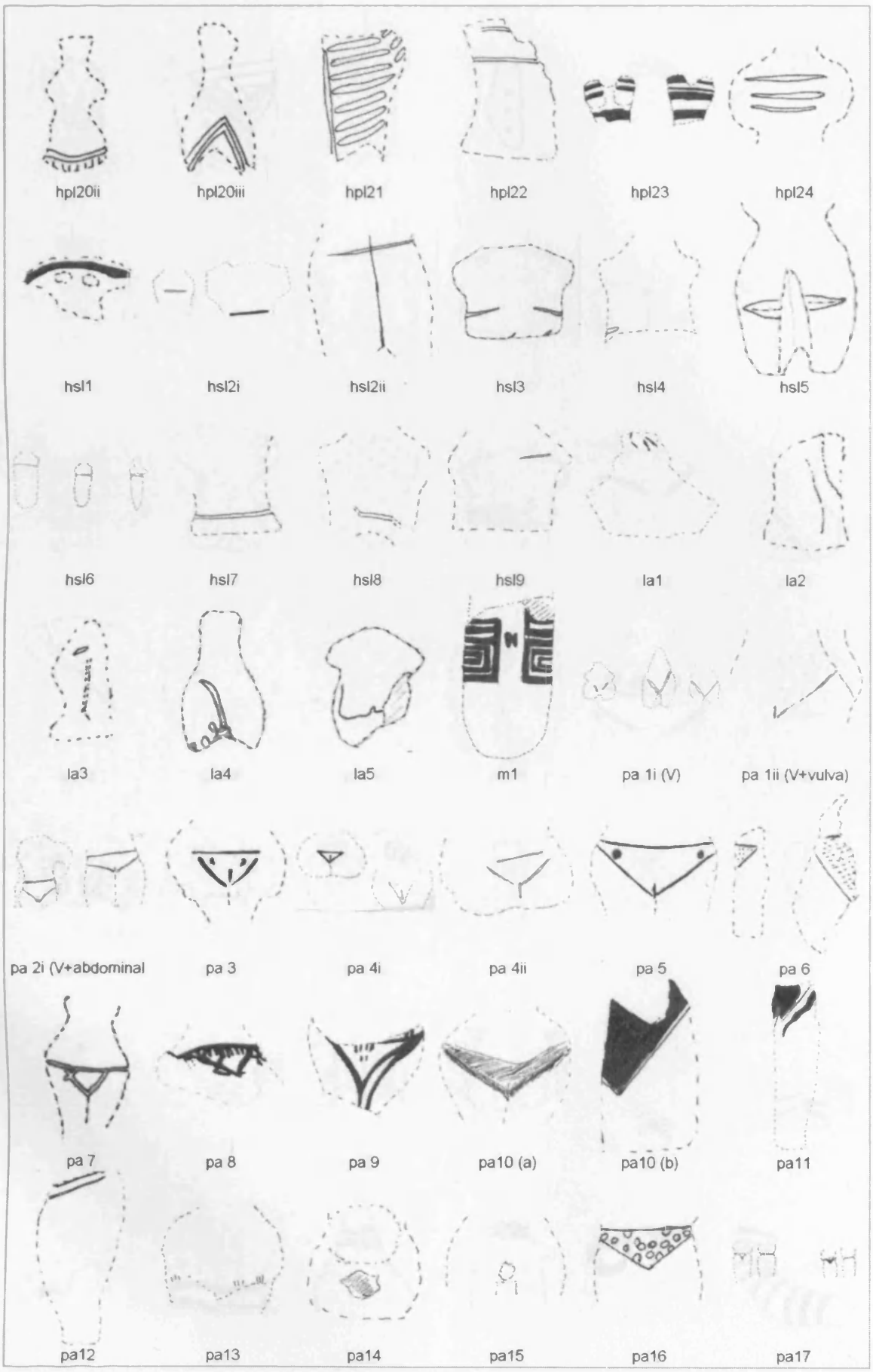
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hsl7
hsl8
hsl9
la1
la2
la3
la4
la5
m1
pa 1i (V)
pa 1ii (V+vulva)
pa 2i (V+abdominal
pa 3
pa 4i
pa 4ii
pa 5
pa 6
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pa 9
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pa10 (b)
pa11
pa12
pa13
pa14
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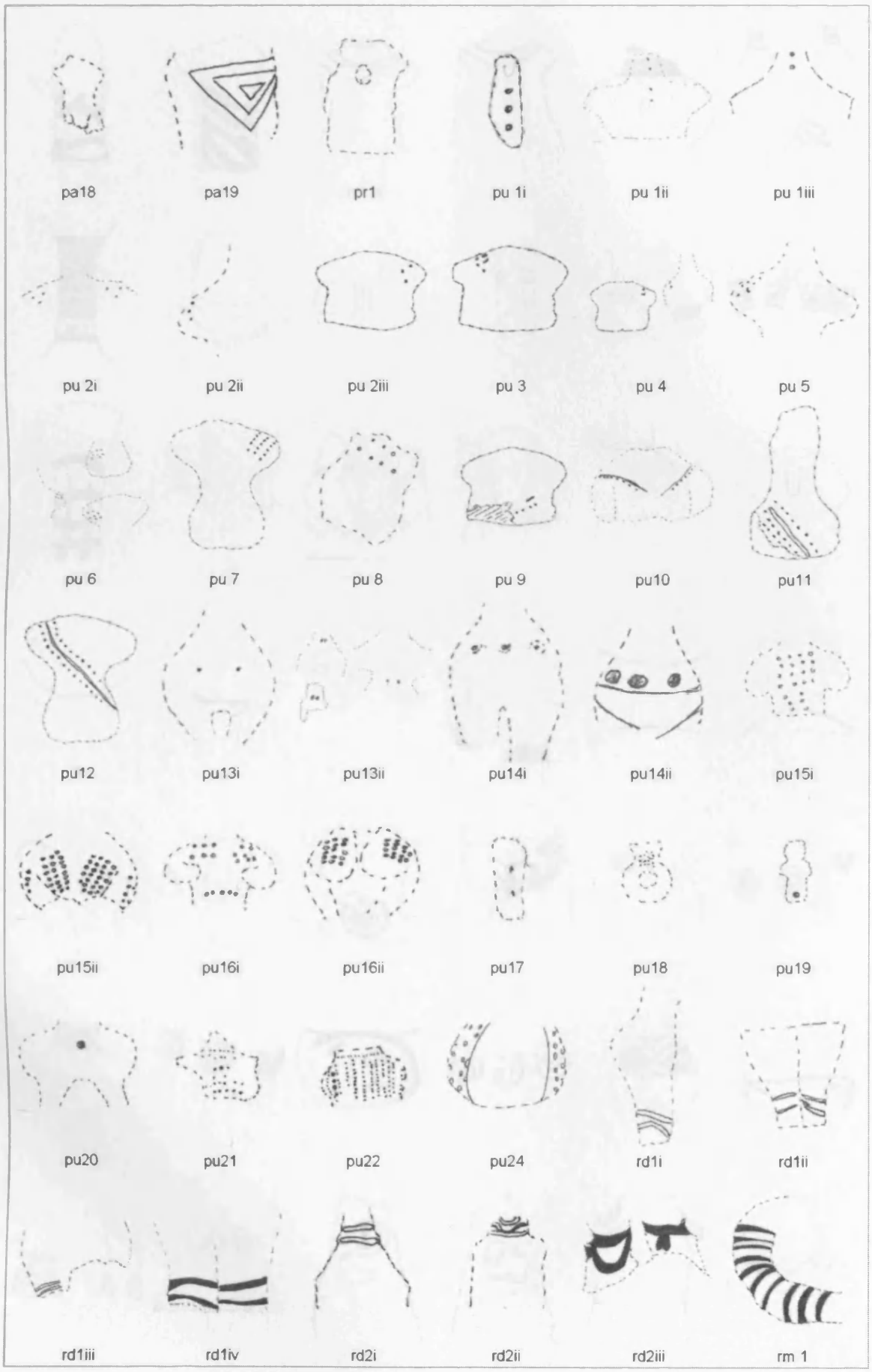
pa16
pa17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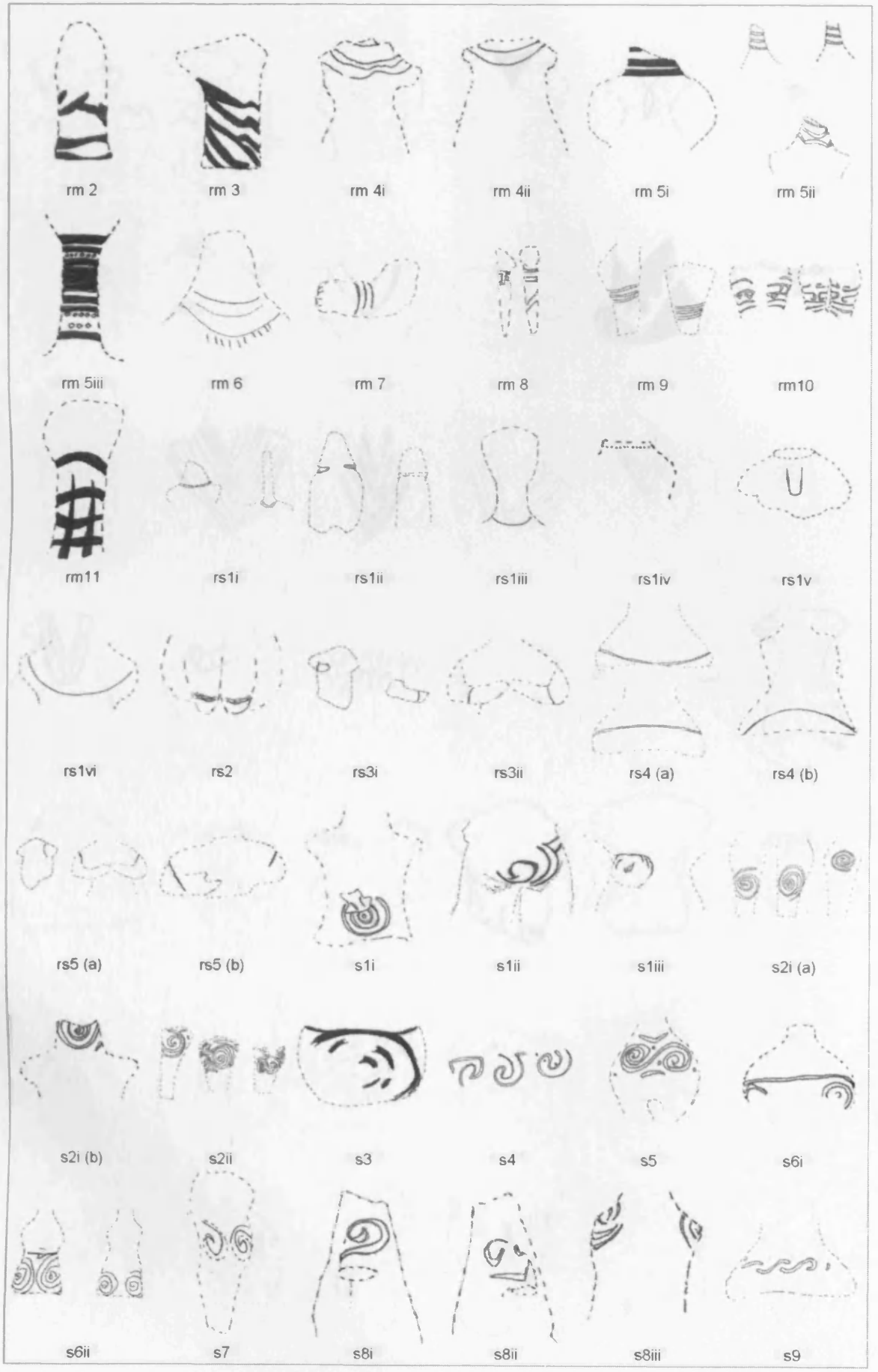
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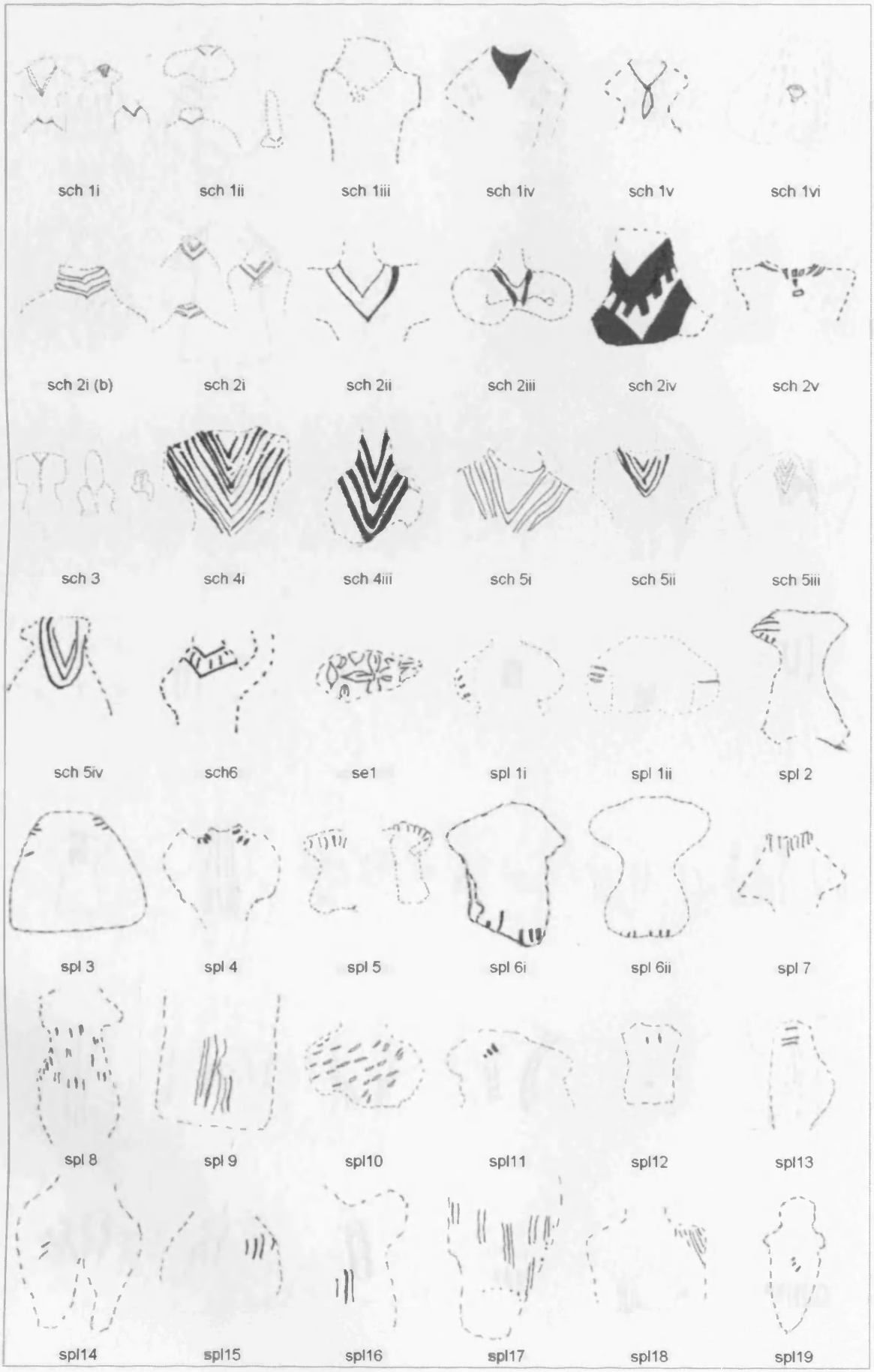
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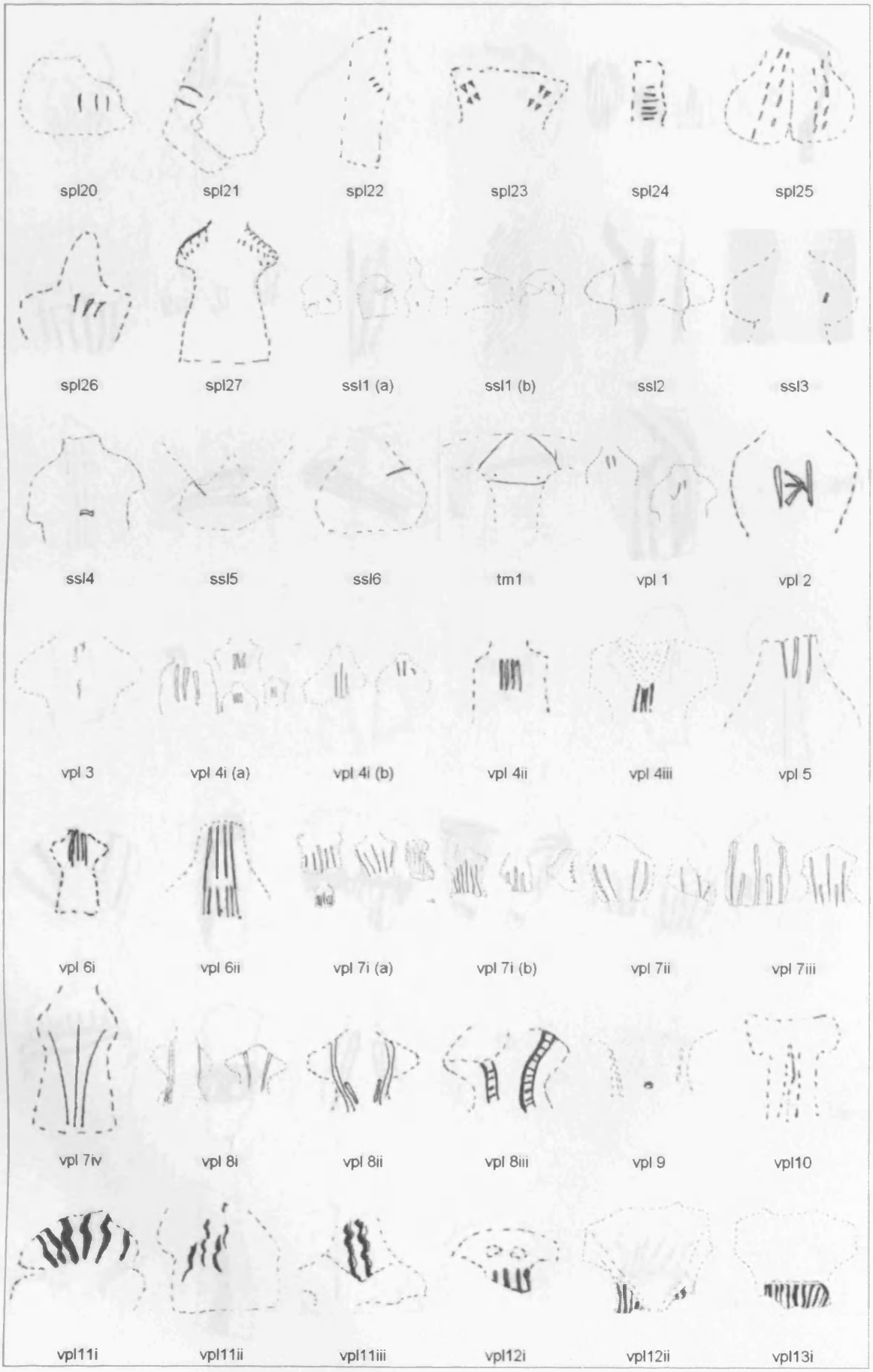
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vpl 4i (b)
vpl 4ii
vpl 4iii
vpl 5
vpl 6i
vpl 6ii
vpl 7i (a)
vpl 7i (b)
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vpl 7iii
vpl 7iv
vpl 8i
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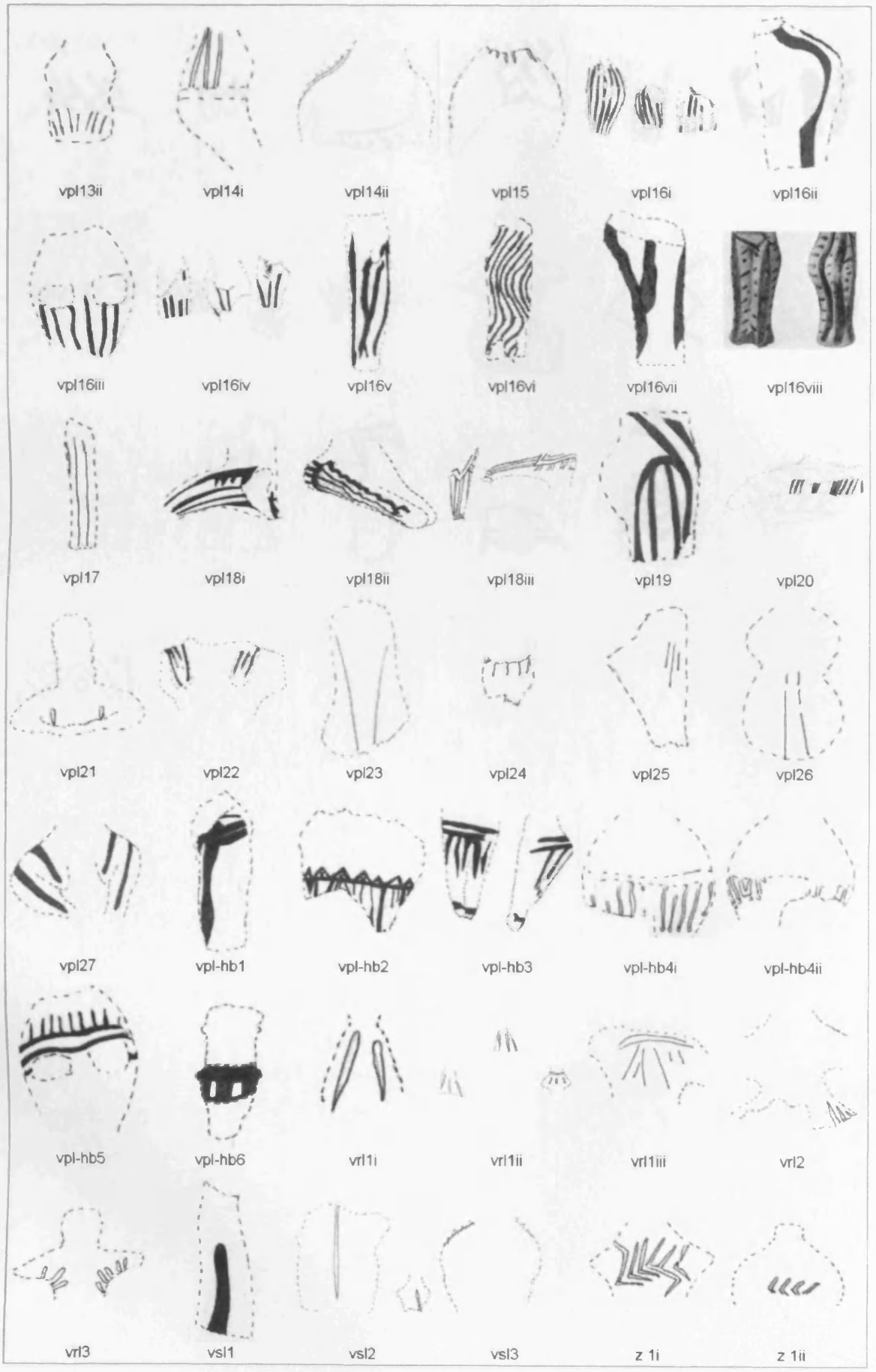
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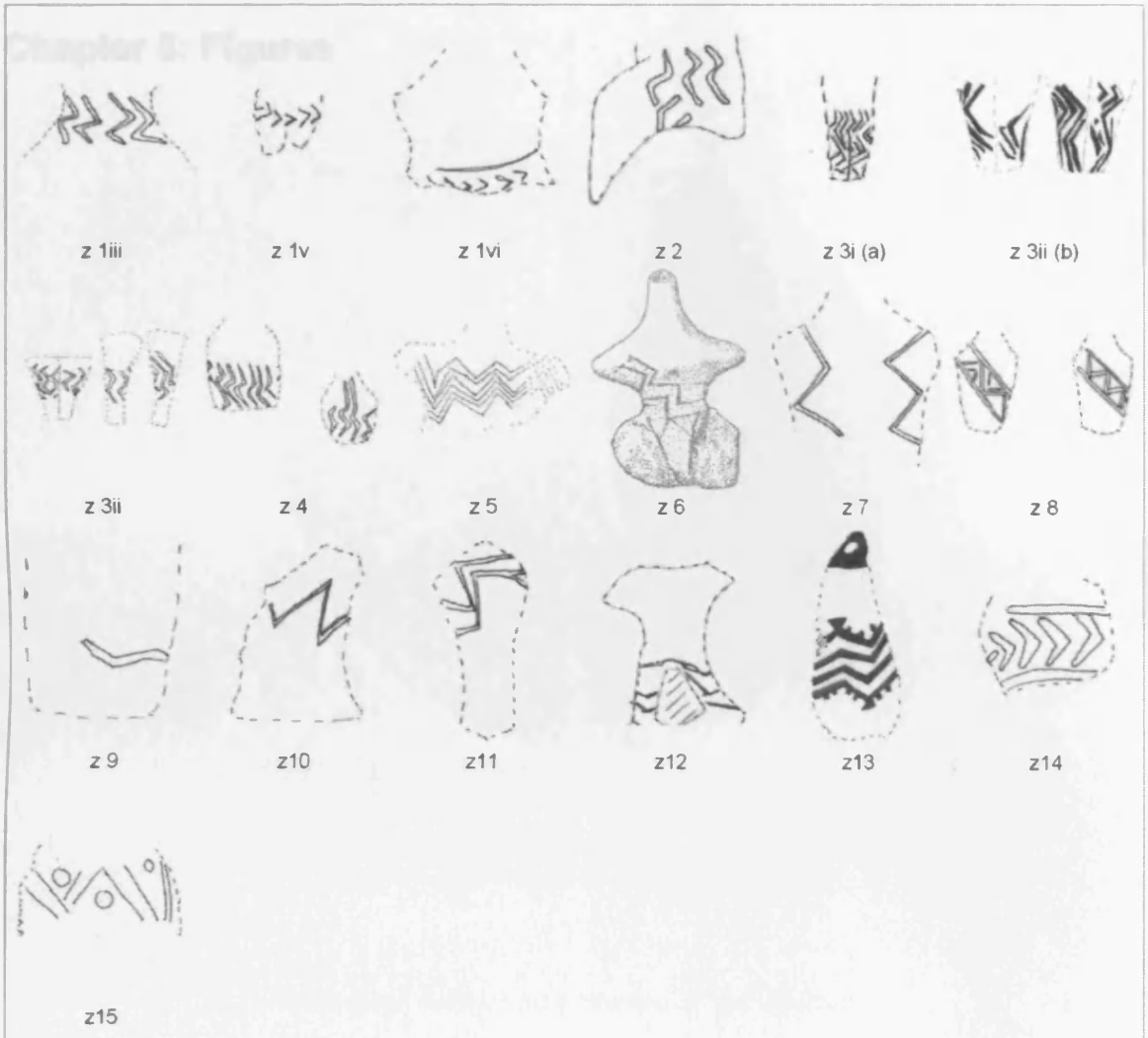
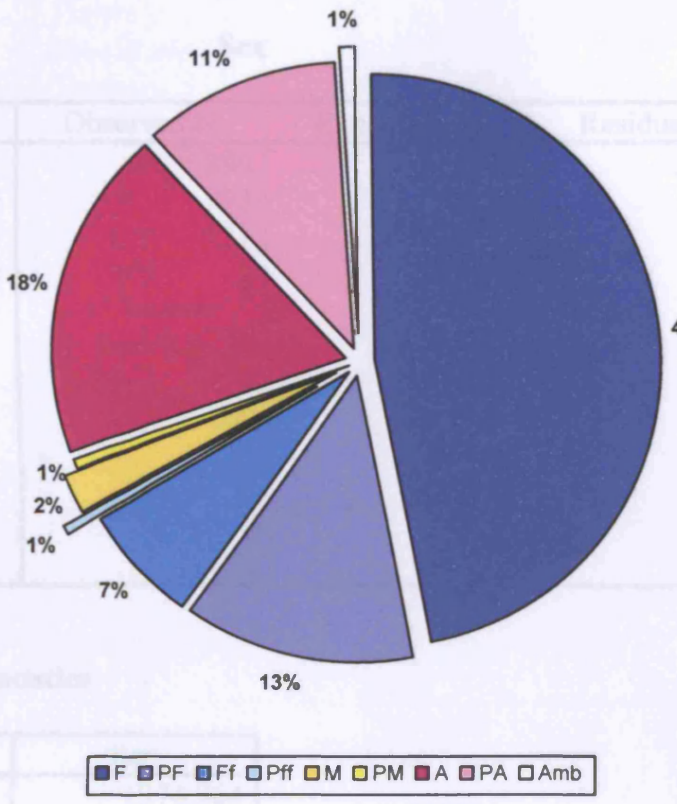
vsl3
z 1i
z 1ii


z 1iii
z 1v
z 1vi
z 2
z 3i (a)
z 3ii (b)
z 3ii
z 4
z 5
z 6
z 7
z 8
z 9
z10
z11
z12
z13
z14
z15

Appendix E

Chapter 5: Figures

Fig. 1 Percentage of 'sex' categories presented in the recorded 'sexed' sample



* The graph excludes the proportion of "na" figurines.

Fig. 2 One-variable, one -tailed χ^2: sex categories

Frequencies

Sex

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Female	396	91.3	304.7
Probably Female	103	91.3	11.7
Female form	51	91.3	-40.3
Probably Female form	5	91.3	-86.3
Male	17	91.3	-74.3
Probably Male	6	91.3	-85.3
Asexual	150	91.3	58.7
Probably Asexual	88	91.3	-3.3
Ambiguous	6	91.3	-85.3
Total	822		

Test Statistics

	Sex
Chi-Square(a)	1374.964
df	8
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is 91.3.

The χ^2 value of 1375, DF=8 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.001. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (once in one thousand). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that all sex categories were not preferred equally in the process of figurine modelling. The results presented in the frequency table also indicate that Female figurines were preferred more than other sex categories.

Fig. 3 Area breakdown by count of recorded figurines

AREA	TOTAL
Thrace	12
Macedonia	283
Thessaly	481
Sporades	4
Central Mainland	57
Euboia	11
Peloponnese	91
Cyclades	34
East Aegean	2
Dodecanese	1
Crete	110
"South"	8
Total	**1094**

Fig. 4 List of sites according to area

THRACE	Paradeisos
	Paradimi
	Polystylo

MACEDONIA	Akropotamos
	Amphipolis
	Arethousa
	Dikili Tash
	Dimitra
	Dispilio
	Macedonia (broad region)
	Makrygialos
	Mandalo
	Nea Nikomedeia
	Olynthus
	Paliambela
	Polyplatanon
	Polystylo
	Servia
	Sitagroi
	Toroni
	Vardina
	Vasilika

THESSALY	Achilleion
	Agia Anna
	Agia Sofia Magoula
	Argissa
	Assimochoma (Larisa)
	Avaritsa
	Chaeroneia
	Daudza
	Dendraki
	Dimini
	Domeniko
	Drachmani
	Farsala
	Hassan Magoula
	Karagyos Magoula
	Karampairamio
	Kastri Tyrnavos
	Krannona
	Larisa
	Magoula Karamourlar
	Magoula Mataranga
	Magoula Panagou
	Magoulitsa
	Makrychori
	Myrina
	Nesson
	Otzaki
	Otzaki Magoula
	Paradeisos
	Paradimi
	Pazaraki
	Pefkakia
	Pefkakia Magoula
	Plateia Magoula Zarkou
	Prodromos
	Rachmani
	Rini
	Sesklo
	Soufli Magoula
	Stephanovikion
	Thessaly (broad region)
	"Thessaly" (said to be)
	Topouslar
	Tsangli
	Tsani Magoula
	Velestino
	Zerelia

SPORADES	Agios Petros

CENTRAL MAINLAND	Acropolis
	Aigina
	Athenian Agora
	Chaeroneia
	Corycio Antro
	Elateia
	Eleusis
	Eutresis
	Kitsos
	Patissia
	Pyrgos
	Rafina
	Spelaio tou Euripidi
	Salamina
	Thebes
	Thespiai
	Tsoungiza

EUBOIA	"Euboia" (said to be)
	Euboia (broad region)
	Spelaio Sarakenou
	Tharounia
	Varka Psachnon

PELOPONNESE	Agios Demetrios
	Akratas
	Alepotrypa
	Asea
	Ayioryitika
	Corinth
	Corinth Theatre
	Franchthi cave
	Kouphovouno
	Lerna
	Malthi
	Mycenae
	Nemea
	"Peloponnese" (said to be)
	Skoura
	Sparta
	Tiryns

CYCLADES	"Amorgos" (said to be) "Paros" (said to be) "Schinousa" (said to be) Cyclades (broad area) "Cyclades" (said to be) Ftelia Kephala Saliagos Sangri
E. AEGEAN	Tigani
DODECANESE	Karpathos (broad region)
CRETE	Crete (broad region) Geranio Gortyna Ierapetra Kephala Knossos Phaistos Spelaio Pelekiton

Fig. 5 Proportion of figurines by region of the total recorded corpus

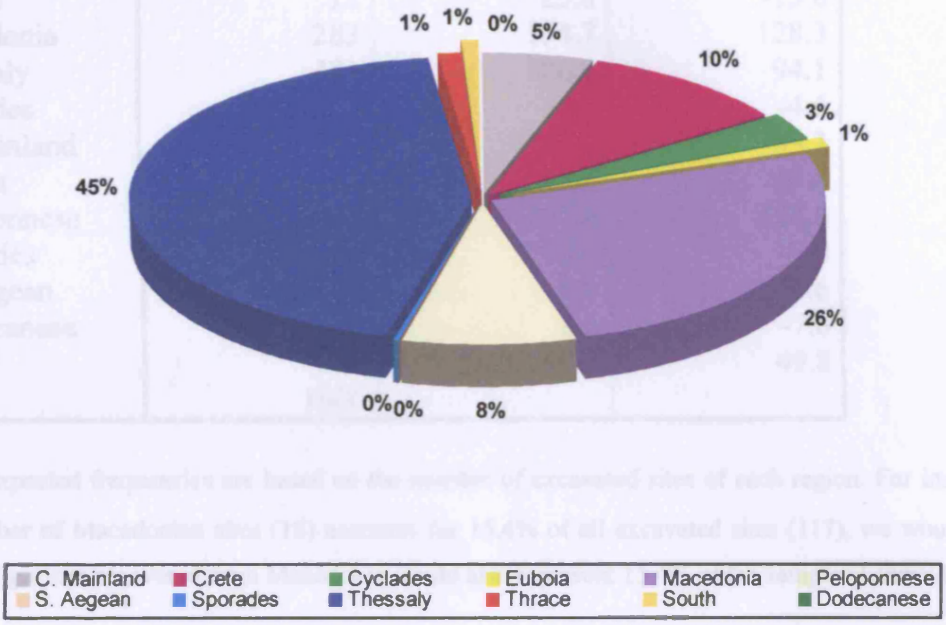


Fig. 6 One-variable, one-tailed χ^2: region and production of figurines

Frequencies

Regions

	Observed N	Expected N*	Residual
Thrace	12	25.8	-13.8
Macedonia	283	154.7	128.3
Thessaly	481	386.9	94.1
Sporades	4	8.6	-4.6
C. Mainland	57	146.2	-89.2
Euboia	11	25.8	-14.8
Peloponnese	11	137.6	-126.6
Cyclades	34	43.0	-9.0
E. Aegean	2	8.6	-6.6
Dodecanese	1	8.6	-7.6
Crete	110	60.2	49.8
Total	1006		

* The expected frequencies are based on the number of excavated sites of each region. For instance, as the number of Macedonian sites (18) accounts for 15.4% of all excavated sites (117), we would expect that the figurines recovered from Macedonia would also represent 15.4% of the sample (1,006), i.e. 154.7.

Test Statistics

	Region
Chi-Square(a)	373.271
df	10
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is 8.6.

The χ^2 value of 373.3, DF=10 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.001. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (once in one thousand). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that not all regions have produced the same number of figurines. The results presented in the frequency table also indicate that Macedonia, Thessaly and Crete have produced far more figurines than expected given the number of excavated sites.

Fig. 7 'Sexed' figurines and their distribution by region

'Sex' Category	AREA	Total
F	Thrace	3
	Macedonia	91
	Thessaly	155
	Sporades	-
	C. Mainland	37
	Euboia	5
	Peloponnese	53
	Cyclades	14
	E. Aegean	-
	Dodecanese	1
	Crete	37
PF	Thrace	-
	Macedonia	33
	Thessaly	44
	Sporades	-
	C. Mainland	4
	Euboia	-
	Peloponnese	12
	Cyclades	1
	E. Aegean	-
	Dodecanese	-
	Crete	9
Fform	Thrace	-
	Macedonia	14
	Thessaly	15
	Sporades	-
	C. Mainland	3
	Euboia	2
	Peloponnese	-
	Cyclades	3
	E. Aegean	-
	Dodecanese	-
	Crete	14
Pfform	Thrace	-
	Macedonia	1
	Thessaly	1
	Sporades	-
	C. Mainland	-
	Euboia	-
	Peloponnese	-
	Cyclades	-
	E. Aegean	-
	Dodecanese	-
	Crete	3

'Sex' Category	AREA	Total
M	Thrace	-
	Macedonia	1
	Thessaly	7
	Sporades	-
	C. Mainland	-
	Euboia	-
	Peloponnese	-
	Cyclades	2
	E. Aegean	-
	Dodecanese	-
	Crete	7
PM	Thrace	-
	Macedonia	2
	Thessaly	3
	Sporades	-
	C. Mainland	1
	Euboia	-
	Peloponnese	-
	Cyclades	-
	E. Aegean	-
	Dodecanese	-
	Crete	-
A	Thrace	2
	Macedonia	50
	Thessaly	68
	Sporades	-
	C. Mainland	6
	Euboia	-
	Peloponnese	5
	Cyclades	6
	E. Aegean	1
	Dodecanese	-
	Crete	12
PA	Thrace	-
	Macedonia	22
	Thessaly	38
	Sporades	1
	C. Mainland	3
	Euboia	1
	Peloponnese	3
	Cyclades	1
	E. Aegean	-
	Dodecanese	-
	Crete	19

'Sex' Categories	AREA	Total
Amb	Thrace	-
	Macedonia	2
	Thessaly	2
	Sporades	-
	C. Mainland	1
	Euboia	-
	Peloponnese	-
	Cyclades	-
	E. Aegean	-
	Dodecanese	-
	Crete	1

Fig. 8 Percentage of 'sexed' figurines *only* by region

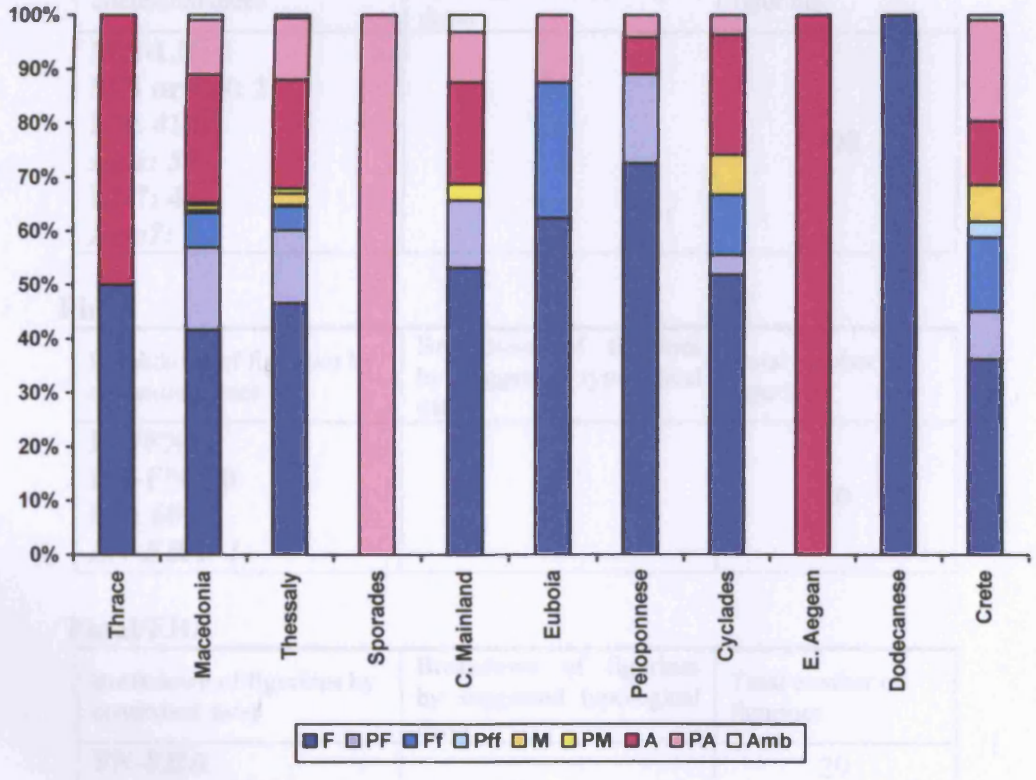


Fig. 9 Dates for figurines given by context and typology (when different)

*Words in italics refer to the broad chronology suggested in the publication

Early

Breakdown of figurines by contextual dates	Breakdown of figurines by suggested typological dates	Total number of figurines
Aceramic: 1 **Ac/EN: 1** ***Early: 13*** **EN: 186**		205

Middle

Breakdown of figurines by contextual dates	Breakdown of figurines by suggested typological dates	Total number of figurines
EN-MN: 1 **MN: 178** ***Middle: 18*** **MN?: 4**		218

Late

Breakdown of figurines by contextual dates	Breakdown of figurines by suggested typological dates	Total number of figurines
MN-LN: 4 **MN or LN: 2** **LN: 414** ***Late: 59*** **LN?: 4** ***Late?: 1***		498

Final

Breakdown of figurines by contextual dates	Breakdown of figurines by suggested typological dates	Total number of figurines
LN/FN: 1 **LN-FN: 10** **FN: 68** ***LN-EBA: 1***		80

Final/EBA

Breakdown of figurines by contextual dates	Breakdown of figurines by suggested typological dates	Total number of figurines
FN-EBA		29

Neolithic

Breakdown of figurines by contextual dates	Breakdown of figurines by suggested typological dates	Total number of figurines
Neolithic: 71 ***Neolithic?: 1***		72

Neolithic/EBA

Breakdown of figurines by contextual dates	Breakdown of figurines by suggested typological dates	Total number of figurines
Neol/EBA: 1 ***Neol.-EBA: 2*** **EBA: 13**	MN: 1 MN: 1, LN: 1 LN: 13	16

LBA

Breakdown of figurines by contextual dates	Breakdown of figurines by suggested typological dates	Total number of figurines
LBA	EN?: 1 LN: 3 FN: 1	5

Fig. 10 Figurines according to contextual and typological chronology by region

*Words in italics in the second column refer to the broad chronology suggested on typological grounds.

THRACE

Broad dates	Reported dates	Total no. of figurines
Late	LN	12

MACEDONIA

Broad dates	Reported dates	Total no. of figurines
Early	EN	18
	Early	1
Middle	MN	6
	Middle	1
Late	MN or LN	2
	LN	196
	LN?	4
	Late	24
Final	LN-FN	5
	FN	2
Final/EBA	FN-EBA	1
General Neol.	N	5
N/EBA	*LN*	13
LBA	*EN, LN, FN*	5

THESSALY

Broad dates	Reported dates	Total no. of figurines
Early	Ac	1
	EN	143
	Early	12
Middle	MN	131
	MN?	4
	Middle	2
Late	LN	86
	Late	5
	Late?	1
Final	FN	46
Final/EBA	FN-EBA	21
General Neol.	N	29

SPORADES

Broad dates	Reported dates	Total no. of figurines
Early	EN	1
Middle	MN	3

C. MAINLAND

Broad dates	Reported dates	Total no. of figurines
Early	EN	13
Middle	MN *Middle*	7 6
Late	LN *Late*	10 5
Final	LN-FN FN	1 3
General Neol.	N	12

EUBOIA

Broad dates	Reported dates	Total no. of figurines
Late	LN *Late*	8 2
Final	FN	1

PELOPONNESE

Broad dates	Reported dates	Total no. of figurines
Early	EN	4
Middle	EN-MN MN *Middle*	1 24 3
Late	MN-LN LN *Late*	1 28 13
Final	LN/FN LN-FN FN LN-EBA	1 2 7 1
Final/EBA	FN-EBA	1
N/EBA	*MN, LN*	2

	MN	1
General Neol.	N	2

CYCLADES

Broad dates	Reported dates	Total no. of figurines
Late	LN	20
	Late	4
Final	LN-FN	1
	FN	7
Final/EBA	FN-EBA	2

S. AEGEAN

Broad dates	Reported dates	Total no. of figurines
Final	LN-FN	1
Final/EBA	FN-EBA	1

DODECANESE

Broad dates	Reported dates	Total no. of figurines
Late	FN	1

CRETE

Broad dates	Reported dates	Total no. of figurines
Early	Ac/EN	1
	EN	7
Middle	MN	7
	Middle	5
Late	MN-LN	1
	LN	49
	Late	2
Final	FN	1
Final/EBA	FN-EBA	2
General Neol.	N	23
	N?	1

* The chronology for Knossos follows the sequence for Neolithic Aegean for standardisation purposes.

Fig. 11 One-variable, one-tailed χ^2: broad date and production of figurines

Frequencies

Broad Date

	Observed N	Expected N*	Residual
Early	205	180.2	24.8
Middle	218	238.2	-20.2
Late	498	392.6	105.4
Final	80	167.4	-87.4
Final/EBA	29	51.5	-22.5
Total	1030		

* The expected frequencies are based on the number of excavated sites dated according to each broad phase. For instance, as the number of Early sites (28) accounts for 17.5% of all excavated sites (160), we would expect that the figurines recovered from Early sites would also represent 17.5% of the sample (1,030), i.e. 180.2.

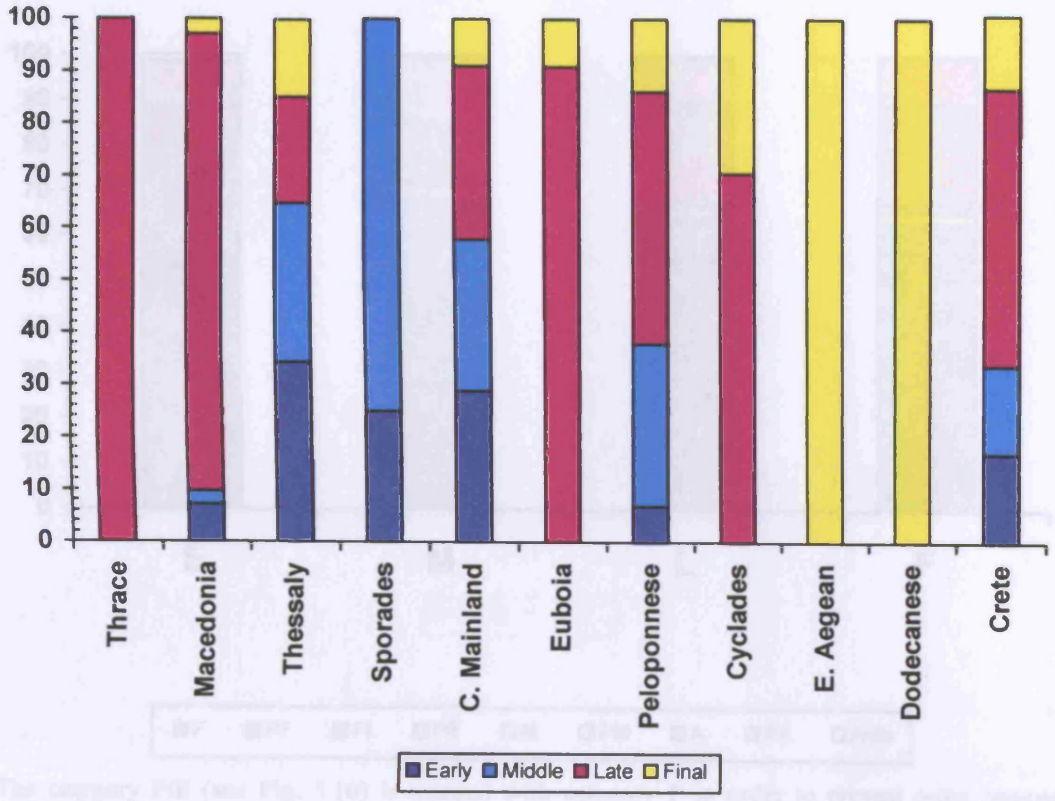
Test Statistics

	Broad Date
Chi-Square(a)	88.876
df	4
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is 51.5.

The χ^2 value of 88.9, DF=4 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.001. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (once in one thousand). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that not all Neolithic phases have produced the same number of figurines. The results presented in the frequency table also indicate that the Late period has produced far more figurines than expected in contrast to other periods.

Fig. 12 Percentage of figurines according to broad chronology and region

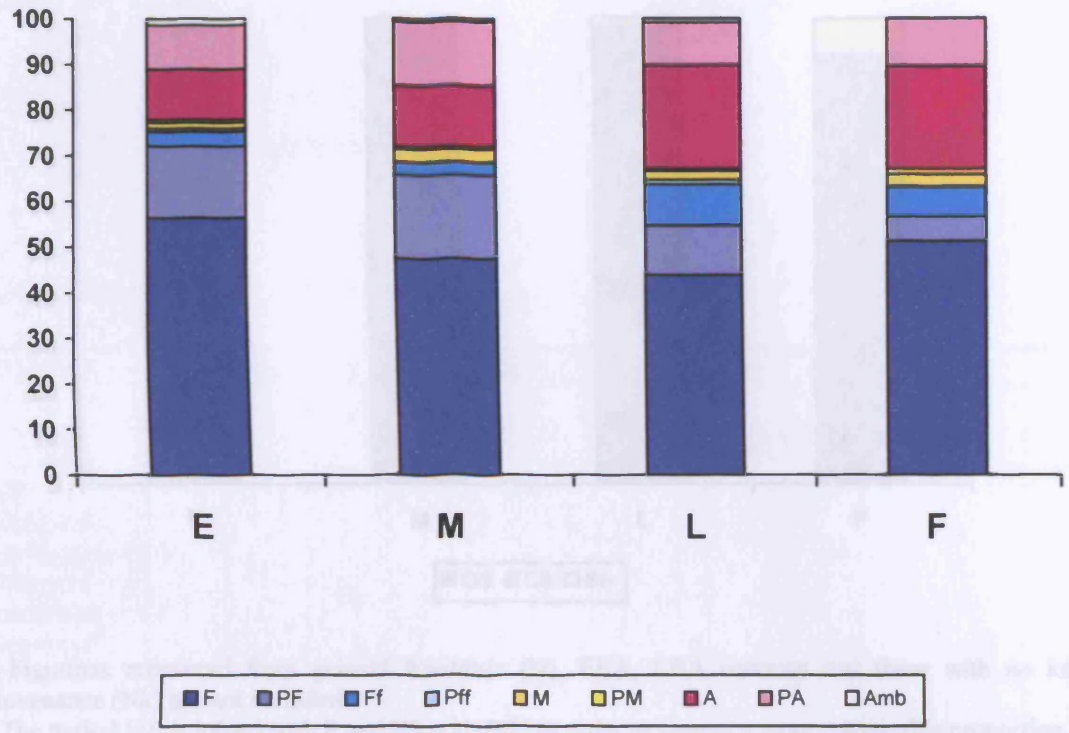


* Figurines identified as general Neolithic and those termed in terms of typology as "South" are not included.

Fig. 13 'Sexed' figurines according to broad chronological periods

	E	M	L	F	F/E
F	87	68	180	33	6
PF	24	27	45	3	1
Fform	5	4	37	3	2
Pff	1	-	4	-	-
M	2	4	8	1	1
PM	1	1	2	1	-
A	17	19	93	13	4
PA	15	20	39	7	1
Amb	2	1	3	-	-
Total	**154**	**144**	**411**	**61**	**15**

Fig. 14 Percentage of 'sex' categories of 'sexed' figurines *only* by broad chronological period



* The category F/E (see Fig. 5.10) is merged with category F in order to present more comparable proportional results for the Final phase.

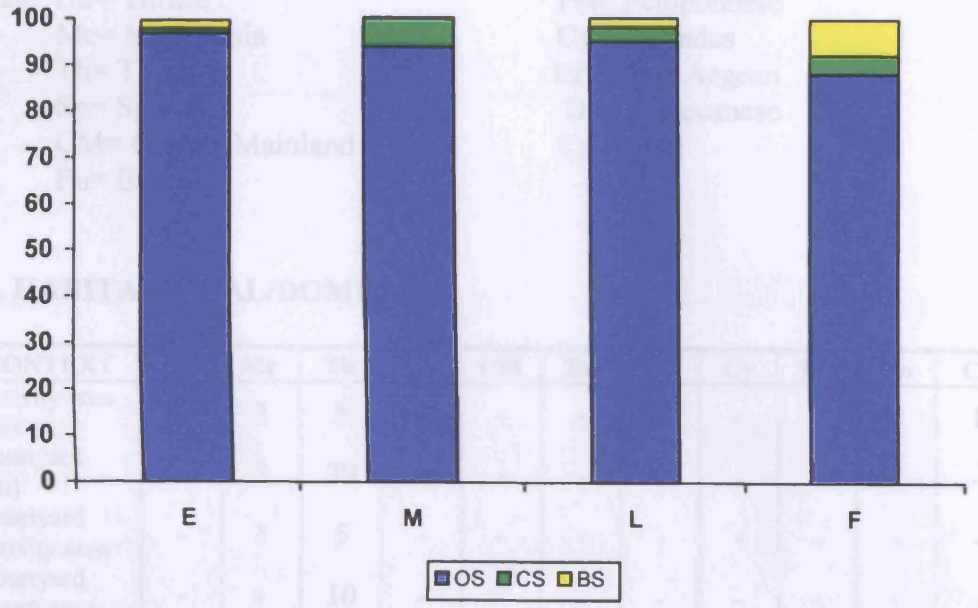
Fig. 15 Categories of sites and number of figurines recovered

SITE TYPE	Total
OS	981
CS	31
BS	11
BS?	9
Nk	61

Fig. 16 Categories of sites and number of recovered figurines according to broad chronology

SITE TYPE	Early	Middle	Late	Final	Final/ EBA	N	EBA	LBA
OS	192	196	445	66	26	65	13	5
CS	2	12	13	4	-	-	-	-
BS	3	-	2	5	1	-	-	-
BS?	1	-	6	2	-	-	-	-
Nk	7	9	30	4	4	7	-	-

Fig. 17 Percentage of recovered figurines from site types according to broad chronology



* Figurines recovered from general Neolithic (N), EBA, LBA contexts and those with no known provenance (Nk) are not included.
* The period F/E is joined with F and BS with BS? in order to present a more comparable proportion.

Fig. 18 'Sexed' figurines and their distribution according to site category

'SEX' CATEGORIES	OS	CS	BS	BS?	Nk
F	323	13	4	6	35
PF	94	4	-	-	5
Fform	44	1	-	2	6
Pfform	5	-	-	-	-
M	13	1	2	-	1
PM	6	-	-	-	-
Asexual	141	2	2	1	4
Pasexual	83	3	-	-	2
Ambiguous	6	-	-	-	-
Total	715	24	8	9	53

*Excludes 'sex' category na.

Fig. 19 Context of recovered figurines according to region
(excludes the following categories regarding context and circumstances of recovery: "disturbed", "mixed", "find", "surface", "unstratified", "nk")

Key: Thr= Thrace
Mc= Macedonia
Th= Thessaly
Sp= Sporades
CM= Central Mainland
Eu= Euboia
Pel= Peloponnese
Cy= Cyclades
EA= East Aegean
Do= Dodecanese
Cr= Crete

A. HABITATIONAL/DOMESTIC

CONTEXT	Thr	Mc	Th	Sp	CM	Eu	Pel	Cy	EA	Do	Cr	Σ
Activity area (all)	-	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	8
Courtyard (all)	-	3	39	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	42
Courtyard activity area	-	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Courtyard hearth area	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Courtyard oven area	-	-	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19
Domestic [1]	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Fill	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Hearth (all)	-	1	10	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	15
House [2]	-	8	59	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	69
HS [3]	-	42	88	-	1	1	15	3	-	-	-	176
HS/BS (cave sites)	1	-	-	-	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	6
Pit	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	2	5
Platform (all)	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Wall	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Well	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Curation (all)		15	2	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	20
Total	1	72	252	-	4	2	26	5	-	-	4	394

[1] Excludes habitational strata and structures.

[2] Includes the following contexts: 2-room structures, 2-room structure platform and floor.

[3] Includes disturbed, post-depositional and curation contexts.

B. FUNERARY

CONTEXT	Thr	Mc	Th	Sp	CM	Eu	Pel	Cy	EA	Do	Cr	Σ
Burials[1]	-	-	5	-	-	3	-	4	-	-	-	12
Cemetery[2]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	7
Cremation debris	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	-	-	6	-	-	3	-	11	-	-	-	20

[1] Includes possible burials.

[2] Refers to figurines found in a cemetery context, but not directly associated with burials or cremation debris.

C. RITUAL

CONTEXT	Thr	Mc	Th	Sp	CM	Eu	Pel	Cy	EA	Do	Cr	Σ
Ritual?	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Cult?, curation	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Total	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3

Fig. 20 Context of recovered figurines according to broad chronology

A. HABITATIONAL/DOMESTIC

CONTEXT	Early	Middle	Late	Final	F/E	N	N/E	EBA	LBA
Activity area (all)	4	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Courtyard (all)	27	12	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Courtyard activity area	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Courtyard hearth area	6	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Courtyard oven area	18	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Domestic [1]	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fill	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Hearth (all)	6	4	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
House [2]	7	33	7	19	1	1	-	1	-
HS [3]	59	28	61	19	14	-	-	1	-
HS/BS (cave sites)	-	-	4	2	-	-	-	-	-
Pit	7	19	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Platform (all)	-	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wall	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Well	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Curation (all)	-	1	1	-	4	-	1	13	-
TOTAL	138	125	90	41	20	1	1	15	-

[1] Excludes habitational strata and structures.

[2] Includes the following contexts: 2-room structures, 2-room structure platform and floor.

[3] Includes disturbed, post-depositional and curation contexts.

B. FUNERARY

CONTEXT	Early	Middle	Late	Final	F/E	N	N/E	EBA	LBA
Burials[1]	1	-	9	2	-	-	-	-	-
Cemetery[2]	-	-	1	5	1	-	-	-	-
Cremation debris	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	2	-	10	7	1	-	-	-	-

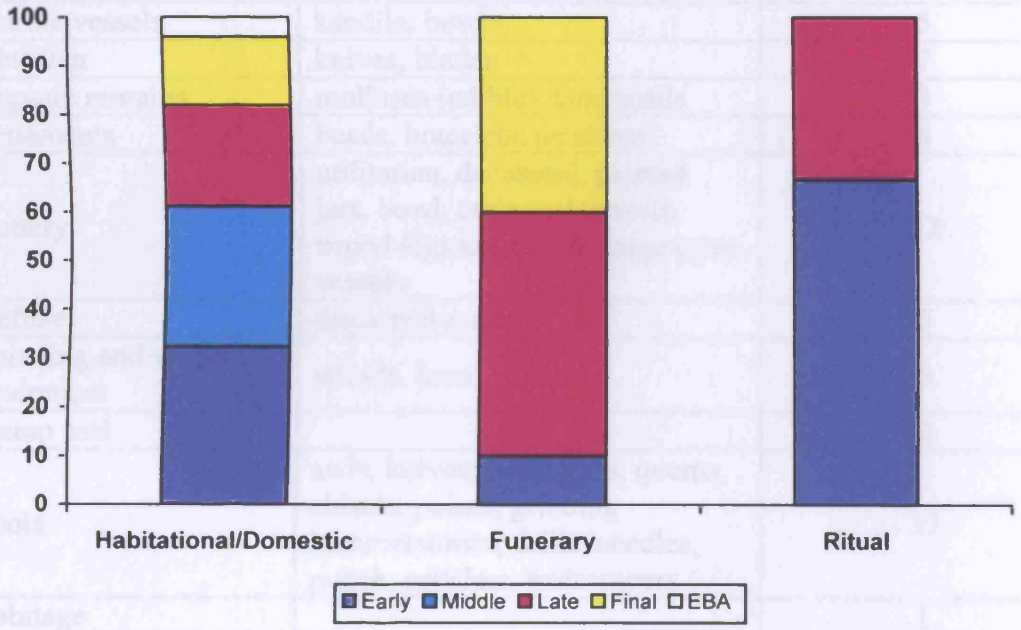
[1] Includes possible burials.

[2] Refers to figurines found in a cemetery context, but not directly associated with burials or cremation debris.

C. RITUAL

CONTEXT	Early	Middle	Late	Final	F/E	N	N/E	EBA	LBA
Ritual?	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cult?, curation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-

Fig. 21 Percentage of dated figurines according to type of recovery context



*The chart has been produced on the basis of Fig. 5.17 and includes only those figurines for which stratigraphic and contextual information has been provided in the publication.

*Under Habitational/Domestic I have also included the habitational contexts of caves.

Fig. 22 Figurines and other finds: *in-situ* association

General Categories	Description of included finds	Number of associated figurines
Bones, human		4
Bones, animal		1
Cremation vessel		2
"Cultic" equipment	clay phallus, "throne"	5
Utensils	ladle, spatula	13
Figurines (anthrop.)		56
Figurines (zoom.)		5
Marble vessels	kandila, bowl	5
Obsidian	knives, blades	7
Organic remains	molluscs (edible), land snails	3
Ornaments	beads, bracelets, pendants	4
Pottery	utilitarian, decorated, painted jars, bowl, carinated vessels, tripod legs and bowls, large open vessels	32
Refuse	discarded material	3
Spinning and weaving equipment	whorls, loom weights	5
Stamp seal		2
Tools	awls, knives, celts, axes, querns, chisels, points, grinding hammerstones, drills, needles, punch, grinders, endscrapers	37
Debitage		1
Weapons	arrows	1

Fig. 23 Figurines and other finds: association by stratigraphic layer

General Categories	Description of included finds	Number of associated figurines
Bones, human		-
Bones, animal		8
Clay anchor		1
Clay crucible		1
Cremation vessel		-
"Cultic" equipment	house model, oven model, stand base, clay phalloi, "throne"	17
Utensils	ladle, spatula, spools, spoon, clay 'studs', palettes, clay 'shuttle'	44
Figurines (anthrop.)		159
Figurines (zoom.)		11
House model		3
Marble vessels	kandila, bowl	-
Metal-working	slag	2
Obsidian	knives, blades	17
Organic remains	molluscs (edible), land snails	1
Ornaments	beads, bracelets, pendants	19
Pottery	utilitarian, decorated, painted jars, bowl, carinated vessels, tripod legs and bowls, Minyan sherd, EH sherds, large open vessels	97
Refuse	discarded material	-
Spinning and weaving equipment	whorls, loom weights	43
Stamp seal		1
Tools	awls, knives, celts, axes, querns, chisels, points, grinding hammerstones, drills, needles, punch, grinders, endscrapers	97
Debitage		4
Weapons	arrows	-

Fig. 24 Features associated with figurines: *in-situ* and by stratigraphic layer

Features	Direct Association	Association by Stratigraphic Layer
Architectural remains	-	33
Bins	1	-
Burial	-	2
Cooking area	-	9
Fire pit	12	15
Floor	2	18
Food preparation area	18	21
Hearth	23	61
House	23	16
Two-room structure	-	3
Oven	26	34
Paving	-	24
Pit	1	29
Platform	1	8
Refuse area	1	2
Room	1	20
Tool concentration area	18	45
Tool preparation area	6	8

Fig. 25 'Sexed' figurines in relation to their context of recovery
(excludes category "na")

A. DOMESTIC/HABITATION

CONTEXT	F	PF	Ff	Pff	M	PM	A	PA	Amb
Activity Area (all)	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
Courtyard (all)	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Courtyard Activity Area	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Courtyard Hearth Area	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Courtyard Oven Area	3	3	-	-	-	-	1	2	-
Domestic [1]	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fill	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hearth (all)	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
House [2]	18	6	-	-	1	1	12	11	-
HS [3] (?)	54	18	7	-	3	2	18	15	
Hs/Bs (cave sites)	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Pit	3	2	-	-	1	-	4	1	-
Platform (all)	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Well	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Curation (all)	6	2	1	-	-	-	2	2	-
TOTAL	100	36	8	-	5	3	37	37	-

[1] Excludes habitational strata and structures.

[2] Includes the following contexts: 2-room structures, 2-room structure platform and floor.

[3] Includes disturbed, post-depositional and curation contexts.

B. FUNERARY

CONTEXT	F	PF	Ff	Pff	M	PM	A	PA	Amb
Burials [1]	6	-	2	-	-	-	3	-	-
Cemetery [2]	4	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
Cremation debris	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

[1] Includes possible burials.

[2] Refers to figurines found in a cemetery context, but not directly associated with burials or cremation debris

C. RITUAL

CONTEXT	F	PF	Ff	Pff	M	PM	A	PA	Amb
Ritual ?	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cult ?, curation	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Fig. 26 'Sexed' figurines and associated finds

General Categories	F	PF	Ff	Pff	M	PM	A	PA	Amb
Bones, human	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Bones, animal	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	-
Cremation vessel	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
"Cultic" equipment	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-
Utensils	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	-
Figurines (anthrop.)	13	6	3	-	2	-	10	3	-
Figurines (zoom.)	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Marble vessels	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Obsidian	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Organic remains	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ornaments	2	3	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
Pottery	9	6	-	-	2	-	5	3	-
Refuse	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spinning and weaving equipment	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Tools	9	7	1	-	1	-	5	3	-

Fig. 27 'Sexed' figurines and associated features

Features	F	PF	Ff	Pff	M	PM	A	PA	Amb
Bins	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fire pit	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Floor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Food preparation area	4	4	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
Hearth	5	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
House	4	3	-	-	-	-	2	3	-
Oven	3	3	-	-	-	-	1	2	-
Pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Platform	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Refuse area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Room	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tool concentration area	2	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Tool preparation area	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

Fig. 28 Total numbers and percentages of material category per region

MATERIAL	Clay	Marble	Stone other	Bone	Shell	Total
Thrace	12	-	-	-	-	12
%	100	-	-	-	-	
Macedonia	266	5	9	1	-	281
%	94.66	2.29	3.20	0.35	-	
Thessaly	411	42	25	1	1	480
%	85.62	8.75	5.20	0.20	0.20	
Sporades	4	-	-	-	-	4
%	100	-	-	-	-	
C. Mainland	44	6	6	1	-	57
%	77.19	10.52	10.52	1.75	-	
Euboia	7	3	1	-	-	11
%	63.63	27.27	9.09	-	-	
Peloponnese	77	5	9	-	-	91
%	84.61	5.49	9.89	-	-	
"South"	2	6	-	-	-	8
%	25	75	-	-	-	
Cyclades	12	19	2	1	-	33
%	36.36	57.57	6.06	3.03	-	
E. Aegean	2	-	-	-	-	2
%	100	-	-	-	-	
Dodecanese	-	-	1	-	-	1
%	-	-	100	-	-	
Crete	78	19	11	1	1	110
%	70.90	17.27	10	0.90	0.90	

Fig. 29 Material according to region

CLAY

Region	Total
Thrace	12
Macedonia	266
Thessaly	411
Sporades	4
C. Mainland	44
Euboia	7
Peloponnese	77
"South"	2
Cyclades	12
E. Aegean	2
Dodecanese	-
Crete	78
TOTAL	**915**

MARBLE

Region	Total
Thrace	-
Macedonia	5
Thessaly	42
Sporades	-
C. Mainland	6
Euboia	3
Peloponnese	5
"South"	6
Cyclades	19
E. Aegean	-
Dodecanese	-
Crete	19
TOTAL	**105**

STONE (other)

Region	Total
Thrace	-
Macedonia	9
Thessaly	25
Sporades	-
C. Mainland	6
Euboia	1
Peloponnese	9
"South"	-
Cyclades	2
E. Aegean	-
Dodecanese	1
Crete	11
TOTAL	**63**

BONE

Region	Total
Thrace	-
Macedonia	1
Thessaly	1
Sporades	-
C. Mainland	1
Euboia	-
Peloponnese	-
"South"	-
Cyclades	1
E. Aegean	-
Dodecanese	-
Crete	1
TOTAL	**5**

SHELL

Region	Total
Thrace	-
Macedonia	-
Thessaly	1
Sporades	-
C. Mainland	-
Euboia	-
Peloponnese	-
"South"	-
Cyclades	-
E. Aegean	-
Dodecanese	-
Crete	1
TOTAL	**2**

Fig. 30 Percentage of material represented in the assemblage

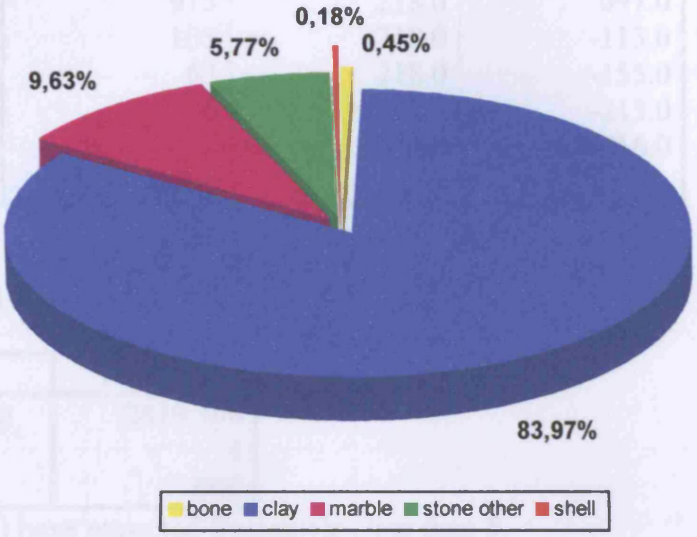


Fig. 31 One-variable, one -tailed χ^2: figurines produced according to material

Frequencies

Material

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Clay	915	218.0	697.0
Marble	105	218.0	-113.0
Stone, other	63	218.0	-155.0
Bone	5	218.0	-213.0
Shell	2	218.0	-216.0
Total	1090		

Test Statistics

	Material
Chi-Square(a)	2819.394
df	4
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is 218.0.

The χ^2 value of 2819.39, DF=4 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.001. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (once in one thousand). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that all materials were not preferred equally in the process of figurine modelling. The results presented in the frequency table also indicate that clay was preferred more than other materials.

Fig. 32 Material by broad chronology according to context (single or 1st table) **and typology** (2nd table) **when applicable**

* The category nk (not known) for material and na (non-applicable) for typology are not included.
** Absence of a 2nd table indicates an overlap between contextual and typological chronology.

Clay

E	M	L	F	F/E	EBA	LBA	N	N/E	Total
187	209	396	64	14	12	5	52	-	939

E	M	L	F	F/E	EBA	LBA	N	N/E	Total
184	208	411	64	12	-	-	52	-	931

Marble

E	M	L	F	F/E	EBA	LBA	N	N/E	Total
11	3	58	11	16	-	-	7	-	106

Other Stone

E	M	L	F	F/E	EBA	LBA	N	N/E	Total
6	5	38	5	1	1	-	7	1	64

E	M	L	F	F/E	EBA	LBA	N	N/E	Total
6	5	38	5	1	-	-	7	1	63

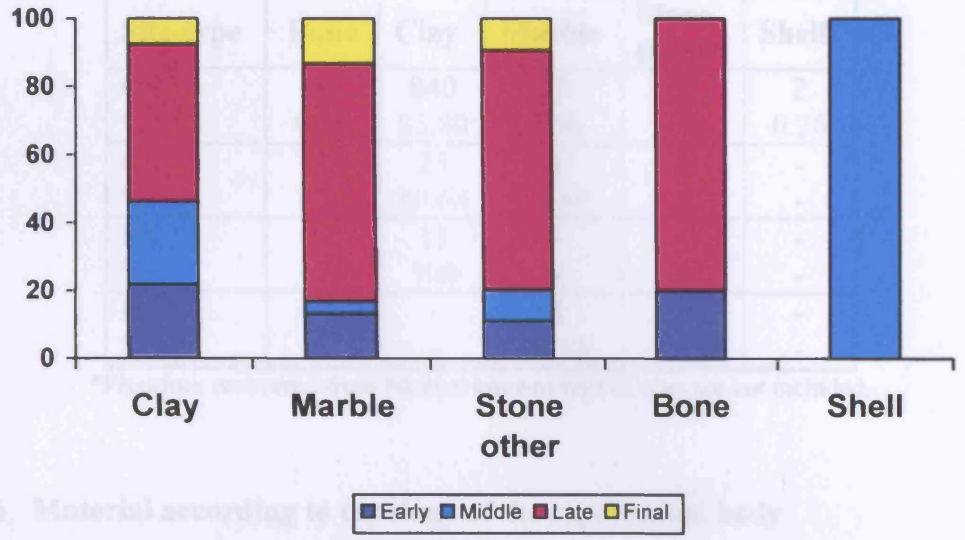
Bone

E	M	L	F	F/E	EBA	LBA	N	N/E	Total
1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	5

Shell

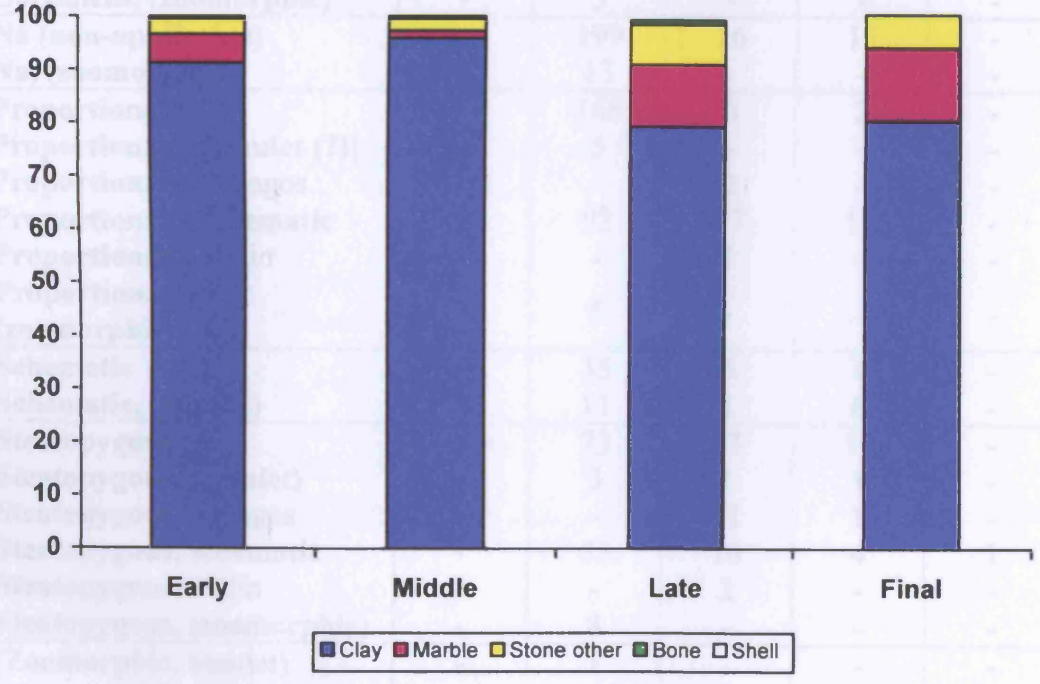
E	M	L	F	F/E	EBA	LBA	N	N/E	Total
-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2

Fig. 33 Material according to broad chronological phases



* Figurines identified as general Neolithic are not included

Fig. 34 Broad chronological phases according to material



* "Final" includes F/E for a more balanced comparison.

Fig. 35 Material according to type of site

Site-type	Bone	Clay	Marble	Stone (other)	Shell
OS	4	840	75	58	2
%	0.40	85.80	7.66	5.92	0.20
CS	1	25	4	1	-
%	3.22	80.64	12.90	3.22	-
BS	-	11	-	-	-
%	-	100	-	-	-
BS?	-	-	8	1	-
%	-	-	88.88	11.12	-

*Figurines recovered from Nk (not known) type of sites are not included.

Fig. 36 Material according to typology of the represented body

TYPOLOGY	Bone	Clay	Marble	Stone	Shell
Amorphous	-	12	-	1	-
(Amulet)	-	10	-	-	-
(Amulet?)	-	3	-	-	-
Corpulent	-	147	7	5	1
Corpulent?	-	1	-	-	-
Corpulent, (amulet)	-	-	-	2	-
Corpulent, schematic	-	55	4	4	-
Corpulent, (zoomorphic)	-	3	-	-	-
Na (non-applicable)	-	199	16	13	-
Na, (zoomorphic)	-	13	-	-	-
Proportionate	-	168	6	2	-
Proportionate, [amulet (?)]	-	5	-	-	-
Proportionate, Saliagos	-	-	2	-	-
Proportionate, schematic	2	92	17	11	-
Proportionate, violin	-	-	1	-	-
Proportionate, (zoomorphic)	-	5	-	-	-
Schematic	-	35	6	1	-
Schematic, (amulet)	3	11	1	6	-
Steatopygous	-	73	13	10	-
Steatopygous, (amulet)	-	3	1	1	-
Steatopygous, Saliagos	-	-	11	1	-
Steatopygous, schematic	-	55	16	4	1
Steatopygous, violin	-	-	2	-	-
Steatopygous, (zoomorphic)	-	8	-	-	-
(Zoomorphic, amulet)	-	1	-	-	-
(Zoomorphic, amulet ?)	-	1	-	-	-

* The question-mark applies to those figurines, the fragmented state of which, does not allow a secure identification.

** The categories "amulet" and "zoomorphic" are in parentheses, since they are not strictly related to the modelling of the body.

Fig. 37 Use of material in relation to 'sexed' figurines *only*

CLAY

'SEX'	Total
F	319
PF	96
Fform	22
Pfform	4
M	16
PM	6
Asexual	114
Pasexual	84
Ambiguous	6

MARBLE

'SEX'	Total
F	38
PF	2
Fform	20
Pfform	1
M	1
PM	-
Asexual	18
Pasexual	3
Ambiguous	-

STONE other

'SEX'	Total
F	22
PF	4
Fform	9
Pfform	-
M	-
PM	-
Asexual	13
Pasexual	1
Ambiguous	-

BONE

'SEX'	Total
F	2
PF	-
Fform	1
Pfform	-
M	-
PM	-
Asexual	2
Pasexual	-
Ambiguous	-

SHELL

'SEX'	Total
F	1
PF	1
Fform	-
Pfform	-
M	-
PM	-
Asexual	-
Pasexual	-
Ambiguous	-

Fig. 38 Percentage of 'sex' categories in relation to material

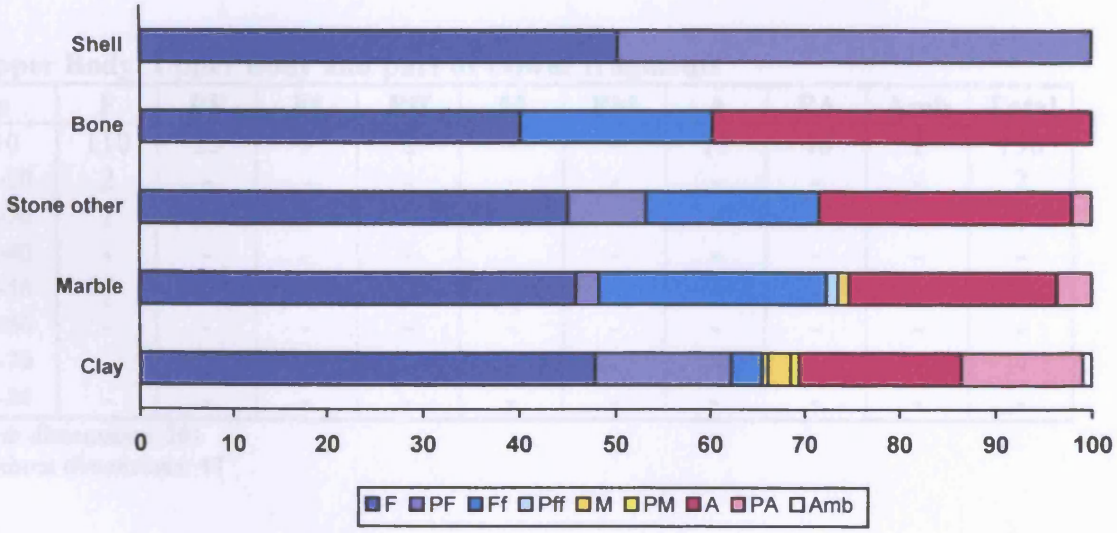


Fig.39 Use of marble and (other) stone in relation to broad chronology and selected 'sex' categories

Material	'Sex' categories	E	M	L	F	F/E
MARBLE	F	6	3	21	6	2
	Ff	1	-	14	3	2
	M	1	-	-	-	-
	A	1	-	14	-	3
STONE other	F	3	2	13	4	-
	Ff	-	-	9	-	-
	M	-	-	-	-	-
	A	2	-	11	-	-

Fig. 40 Dimensions of figurines in relation to 'sex' categories

Complete

cm	F	PF	Ff	Pff	M	PM	A	PA	Amb	Total
1-10	27	3	4	-	4	1	29	1	1	70
11-20	4	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	7
21-30	2	-	2	-	-	-	3	-	-	7
31-40	4	-	1	-	1	-	7	-	-	13
41-50	2	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	5
51-60	5	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	8
61-70	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
71-80	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2

With dimensions: 112
Without dimensions: 270

Upper Body, Upper Body and part of Lower fragments

cm	F	PF	Ff	Pff	M	PM	A	PA	Amb	Total
1-10	110	25	3	2	-	-	17	40	1	198
11-20	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
21-30	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
31-40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
41-50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
51-60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
61-70	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
71-80	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

With dimensions: 201
Without dimensions: 47

Lower Body fragments

cm	F	PF	Ff	M	PM	A	PA	Amb	Total
1-10	27	28	-	2	-	1	27	1	86
11-20	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
21-30	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
31-40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
41-50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
51-60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
61-70	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
71-80	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

With dimensions: 88
Without dimensions: 18

Fig. 41 Proportion in percentage of size range of complete figurines *only* (when available)

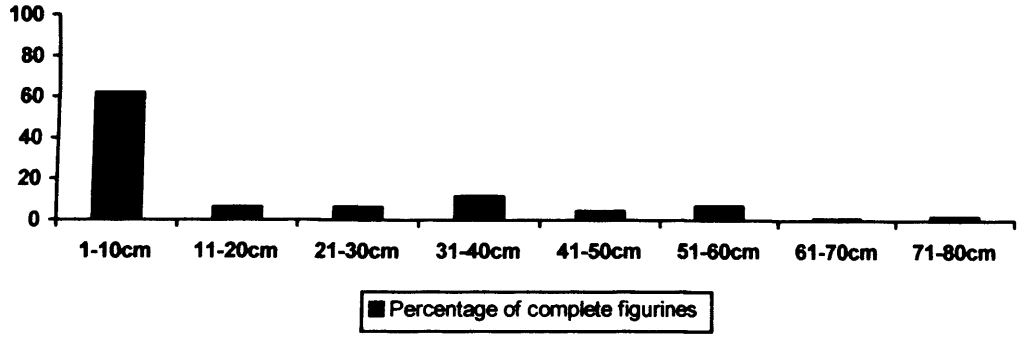


Fig. 42 One-variable, one-tailed χ^2: complete figurines only according to dimensions

Frequencies

Dimensions

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
1-10 cm	70	14.1	55.9
11-20 cm	7	14.1	-7.1
21-30 cm	7	14.1	-7.1
31-40 cm	13	14.1	-1.1
41-50 cm	5	14.1	-9.1
51-60 cm	8	14.1	-6.1
61-70 cm	1	14.1	-13.1
71-80 cm	2	14.1	-12.1
Total	113		

Test Statistics

	Dimensions
Chi-Square(a)	259.460
df	7
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is 14.1.

The χ^2 value of 259.5, DF=7 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.001. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (once in one thousand). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that all dimensional ranges were not preferred equally in the process of figurine modelling. The results presented in the frequency table also indicate that the dimensional range 1-10 cm was preferred more than other ranges.

Fig. 43 Percentage of 'sex' categories according to size range from complete 'sexed' figurines *only*

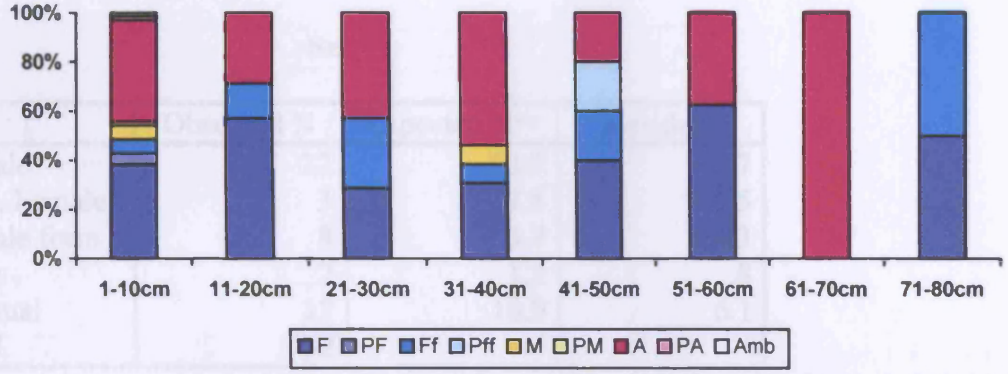


Fig. 44 'Sexed' figurines over 20cm height according to broad chronology and area of recovery

'Sex' category	Date	Area	Total
F	2E 5M 12L 3F	Thessaly:2, Thessaly:1 Crete:4, Thessaly:2 Cyclades:2 Dodecanese:1 Crete:7, Euboia:1 Peloponnese:2	22
PF	2M 1L	Thessaly:2, Crete:1	3
Ff	1M 7L	Thessaly:1, Crete:7	8
M	1L 1N	Crete:1, Crete:1	2
A	1E 3M 8L 3F 1F/E 1N	Crete:1, Thessaly:2 Crete:1, Macedonia:6 Crete:2, Macedonia:3 Crete:1, Crete:1	17

* 'Sex' categories with no specimens over 20cm are excluded.

Fig. 45 One-variable, one-tailed χ^2: figurines over 20cm according to sex categories

Frequencies

Sex*

	Observed N	Expected N**	Residual
Female	22	28.7	-6.7
Prob. Female	3	7.5	-4.5
Female form	8	3.7	4.3
Male	2	1.2	.8
Asexual	17	10.9	6.1
Total	52		

*The remaining sex categories have produced null frequencies and could not therefore be included in the analysis.

** The expected frequencies are based on the number of figurines per sex category. For instance, as the number of Female figurines (396) accounts for 55.23% of the 'sexed' sample consisting of the above categories, we would expect that Female figurines measuring over 20cm would also represent 55.23% of the sample (52), i.e. 28.7.

Test Statistics

	Sex
Chi-Square(a)	13.178
df	4
Asymp. Sig.	.010

a 2 cells (40.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is 1.2.

The χ^2 value of 13.2, DF=4 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.01. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (once in 100 chances). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that all sex categories were not preferred equally for the modelling of figurines over 20cm. The results presented in the frequency table also indicate that Asexual and Female form figurines produced more figurines measuring over 20cm than expected in relation to the number of figurines per sex category.

Fig. 46 One-variable, one-tailed χ^2: figurines over 20cm according to region

Frequencies

Region

	Observed N	Expected N*	Residual
Macedonia	9	9.6	-.6
Thessaly	8	24.0	-16.0
Peloponnese	2	8.5	-6.5
Euboia	1	1.6	-.6
Dodecanese	1	.5	.5
Crete	27	3.7	23.3
Total	48		

* The expected frequencies are based on the number of excavated sites of each region. For instance, as the number of Macedonian sites (18) accounts for 15.4% of all excavated sites (117), we would expect that figurines over 20cm that have been recovered from Macedonia would also represent 15.4% of the sample (48), i.e. 9.6.

Test Statistics

	Region
Chi-Square(a)	161.442
df	5
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a 3 cells (50.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is .5.

The χ^2 value of 161.4, DF=5 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.001. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (once in one thousand). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that not all regions have produced equal proportions of figurines measuring over 20cm. The results presented in the frequency table also indicate that Crete produced more figurines measuring over 20cm.

Fig. 47 One-variable, one-tailed χ^2: figurines over 20cm according to chronology

Frequencies

Date

	Observed N	Expected N*	Residual
Early	3	8.7	-5.7
Middle	11	11.5	-.5
Late	29	18.9	10.1
Final	6	8.4	-2.4
Final/EBA	1	2.5	-1.5
Total	50		

* The expected frequencies are based on the number of excavated sites dated according to each broad phase. For instance, as the number of Early sites (28) accounts for 17.5% of all excavated sites (160), we would expect that Early figurines measuring over 20cm would also represent 17.5% of the sample (50), i.e. 8.7.

Test Statistics

	Date
Chi-Square(a)	10.652
df	4
Asymp. Sig.	.031

a 1 cells (20.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is 2.5.

The χ^2 value of 10.7, DF=4 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.05. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (1 in 20 chances). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that not all phases have produced equal proportions of figurines measuring over 20cm. The results presented in the frequency table also indicate that the Late phase produced more figurines measuring over 20cm.

Fig. 48 Summary of the variety in which anatomical parts were modelled

Anatomical Parts	Modelling Repertoire
Breasts	modelled (?) not modelled nipples
Abdomen	flat flat; flesh fold (s) flat; flesh fold; navel flat; navel flesh fold (s) concave not modelled rounded rounded; flesh fold (s) rounded; flesh fold (s); navel swollen (?) swollen; navel swollen; flesh fold (s) swollen; flesh fold(s); navel swollen-pregnancy swollen-pregnancy; flesh fold swollen-pregnancy; flesh fold; navel swollen-pregnancy; navel
Hips	accentuated not accentuated not modelled slightly accentuated
Buttocks	modelled not modelled rounded accentuated heavily accentuated
Pubic Area	covered pubic triangle pubic triangle and vulva penis penis? V-shaped V-shaped and vulva V-shaped and vulva; pubic hair vulva or penis vulva? not modelled

*The question-mark has been used for cases when the identification of the modelled attribute encombasses a degree of uncertainty.

Fig. 49 'Sex' categories and a selection of the range of modelling for anatomical attributes

F

Breasts	Abdomen	Hips	Buttocks	Pubic area
modelled:317	flat:166	accentuated:206	accentuated:48	pubic triangle:42
not modelled:62	swollen (?):95	slightly accentuated:2	heavily accentuated:59	pubic triangle and vulva:11
	swollen,flesh folds:20	not accentuated:78	rounded:1	V-shaped:70
	swollen-pregnancy:19		modelled:47	V-shaped & vulva:35
	swollen-pregnancy, navel:10		not modelled:42	vulva (?):21
	navel:70			not modelled:78

PF

Breasts	Abdomen	Hips	Buttocks	Pubic area
modelled (?):5	flat:37	accentuated:68	accentuated:25	V-shaped:20
not modelled:23	swollen (?):24	slightly accentuated:1	heavily accentuated:24	not modelled:27
	swollen,flesh folds:2	not accentuated:11	rounded:1	
	swollen-pregnancy:3		modelled:9	
	swollen-pregnancy, navel:2		not modelled:8	
	navel:28			

Fform

Breasts	Abdomen	Hips	Buttocks	Pubic area
not modelled:49	flat:36	accentuated:59	accentuated:7	V-shaped:1
	swollen (?):5	not accentuated (?):1	heavily accentuated:2	vulva (?):1
	swollen,flesh folds:1		modelled:6	not modelled:46
	navel:1		not modelled:11	

Pfform

Breasts	Abdomen	Hips	Buttocks	Pubic area
not modelled:3	flat:5	accentuated:5	accentuated:1	not modelled:1

M

Breasts	Abdomen	Hips	Buttocks	Pubic area
not modelled:13	flat:11	accentuated:5	accentuated:2	penis (?):16
nipples:1	swollen (?):3	slightly accentuated:1	modelled:4	
	navel:2	not accentuated:1	not modelled:3	

PM

Breasts	Abdomen	Hips	Buttocks	Pubic area
not modelled:3	flat:2	accentuated:1	accentuated:1	-
	swollen (?):1	not accentuated:2	not modelled:1	
	navel:1			

A

Breasts	Abdomen	Hips	Buttocks	Pubic area
not modelled:146	flat:128	accentuated:10	accentuated:8	not modelled:137
	swollen (?):4	slightly accentuated:1	heavily accentuated:1	
	swollen,flesh folds:2	not accentuated:120	modelled:5	
	swollen-pregnancy:1		not modelled:61	
	navel:2	not modelled:2		

PA

Breasts	Abdomen	Hips	Buttocks	Pubic area
not modelled:51	flat:51	accentuated:8	accentuated:3	not modelled:32
	swollen (?):5	not accentuated:1	modelled:15	
	swollen,flesh folds:1		not modelled:14	
	swollen-pregnancy:1			
	swollen-pregnancy,navel:1			
	navel:1			

Amb

Breasts	Abdomen	Hips	Buttocks	Pubic area
modelled:3	flat:1	accentuated:3	accentuated:2	penis (?):3
not modelled:2	swollen (?):3	not accentuated:1	modelled:2	
	swollen,flesh folds:1			
	swollen-pregnancy:2			
	swollen-pregnancy,navel:2			
	navel:2			

* The question-mark has been used for cases when the identification of the modelled attribute encombasses a degree of uncertainty.

** This figure presents a narrower range in comparison to Fig. 5.40, since I have excluded some variations that I have not considered as relevant for the study of gender-specific aspects of figurine modelling.

Fig. 50 The range of postures presented by figurines

Basic posture	Arm(s)/ Hand(s)	Legs	Comments	Total
STANDING	(all arm/hand postures)		(all standing figurines)	218
	"bearer", i.e. holding object	(standing)		3
	"kourotrophos" (?), i.e. holding, carrying child	(standing)		1
	(irrelevant)	open wide (all)		8
	arm on side/hand on abdomen			2
	arms extended (?)			37
	arms raised			3
	embracing figurine			2
	hand(s) on breast area/hands on breasts (all)	open wide (all)		12
	hand around breast			1
	hands below breasts, breast area			18
	hands meet below breasts			4
	hand(s) on chest (?)			11
	hands meet on chest			3
	hand(s) on abdomen			23
	hands meet on abdomen			6
	hands on waist			75
	hands meet on waist			3
	hand on abdomen/hand holds object on head		"bearer"	1
	hand on hip			3

	hands on pubic area			1
	hand on penis			1
	hand(s) on thighs			2

Basic Posture	Arm(s)/ Hands(s)	Legs	Comments	Total
SEATED	"bearer"	(seated)		1
	"kourotrophos"	(seated)		1
	(not preserved)	(not preserved)		54
	arm(s) extended (all)	open wide		4
	hand on breast			1
	hands below breasts			3
	hands below breasts (all)	crossed		3
	hands on chest			1
	arms folded on abdomen			1
	hands on abdomen (all)	crossed		8
	hands meet on abdomen	crossed		5
	hands meet on chest	extended		1
	hands on waist (all)	crossed		3
	hands meet on waist	crossed drawn up		2
	hands on thighs (all)	drawn up, wide		5
	hands on knees			1
	holding object on lap			1
	hand on thigh, hand on chin			1
	(all arm/hand postures)	crossed (all)		12
	(all arm/hand postures)	drawn up (all), head on knees		5
	(not preserved)	folded		1
	(not preserved)	open wide		1

Basic Posture	Arm(s)/ Hands(s)	Legs	Comments	Total
SEATED ON CHAIR	"kourotrophos"			1
	hands on thighs			4

Basic Posture	Arm(s)/ Hands(s)	Legs	Comments	Total
SEATED ON STOOL	(all arm/hand postures)		includes also those with fragmented arms,hands	14
	hand(s) on thighs			4
	hands on breasts			1
	hands on abdomen			1
	hand on penis (hand supports the head)			1

Basic Posture	Arm(s)/ Hands(s)	Legs	Comments	Total
KNEELING	(not preserved)			1
	hands on waist			1

Basic Posture	Arm(s)/ Hands(s)	Legs	Comments	Total
SQUATTING	(all arm/hand postures)		includes also those with fragmented arms,hands	54
	"kourotrophos"			3
	arms raised			2
	arm(s) extended (all)			7
	hand on breasts (1:hand on abdomen)			2
	hands on breast area			3
	arms folded on chest			1
	hands on abdomen (all)			10
	hands on waist			16

	hand on pubic area			1
	hands on thighs			1
	hands on knees	drawn up		1

Basic Posture	Arm(s)/ Hands(s)	Legs	Comments	Total
RECLINING	by the body			3

Basic Posture	Arm(s)/ Hands(s)	Legs	Comments	Total
BIRTH-GIVING	by the body			2

Basic Posture of upper body fragments only	Total
Arm(s) raised	11
Arm raised, arm on breast area	1
Arms extended	18
Arms folded	1
Arms attached to torso	1
Arm extended, hand on breast	1
Arm raised, hand below breast	1
Arm raised, hand on abdomen	1
Arm on abdomen	1

Basic Posture of upper body fragments only	Total
Hands on breast	9
Hand(s) on breast area	7
Hands meet on breast area	1
Hands below breast	8
Hands below breast area	3

Hand(s) on chest	7
Hand on chest, hand on waist	1
Hand(s) on abdomen	14
Hand on abdomen, hand on waist	1
Hands on waist	27

General category	**Total**
Bearers	6
Kourotrophoi	5

Fig. 51 Grouped range of postures in relation to geographical area (presented in alphabetical order)

Posture	Region	Total
Standing	Thrace	4
	Macedonia	117
	Thessaly	132
	Sporades	-
	Central Mainland	19
	Euboia	6
	Peloponnese	39
	South	6
	Cyclades	14
	E. Aegean	1
	Dodecanese	1
	Crete	34
Arms raised	Thrace	-
	Macedonia	4
	Thessaly	8
	Sporades	-
	Central Mainland	-
	Euboia	-
	Peloponnese	-
	South	-
	Cyclades	1
	E. Aegean	-
	Dodecanese	-
	Crete	-
Arms extended	Thrace	-
	Macedonia	18
	Thessaly	24
	Sporades	-
	Central Mainland	2
	Euboia	-
	Peloponnese	9
	South	-
	Cyclades	-
	E. Aegean	-
	Dodecanese	-
	Crete	13

Hand around breast	Thrace	-
	Macedonia	-
	Thessaly	-
	Sporades	-
	Central Mainland	-
	Euboia	1
	Peloponnese	-
	South	-
	Cyclades	-
	E. Aegean	-
	Dodecanese	-
	Crete	-
Hands on breasts	Thrace	-
	Macedonia	3
	Thessaly	15
	Sporades	-
	Central Mainland	-
	Euboia	-
	Peloponnese	-
	South	-
	Cyclades	-
	E. Aegean	-
	Dodecanese	-
	Crete	-
Hands (meet) on breast area	Thrace	-
	Macedonia	3
	Thessaly	8
	Sporades	-
	Central Mainland	1
	Euboia	-
	Peloponnese	1
	South	-
	Cyclades	-
	E. Aegean	-
	Dodecanese	-
	Crete	5
Hands (meet) below breasts	Thrace	-
	Macedonia	1
	Thessaly	11
	Sporades	-
	Central Mainland	2
	Euboia	-
	Peloponnese	10
	South	1
	Cyclades	3
	E. Aegean	-
	Dodecanese	-
	Crete	3

Hand(s) (meet) on chest	Thrace	-
	Macedonia	-
	Thessaly	8
	Sporades	-
	Central Mainland	1
	Euboia	1
	Peloponnese	2
	South	-
	Cyclades	-
	Samos	-
	Crete	12
Hands (meet) on abdomen	Thrace	-
	Macedonia	9
	Thessaly	37
	Sporades	-
	Central Mainland	6
	Euboia	1
	Peloponnese	4
	South	4
	E. Aegean	-
	Dodecanese	-
	Crete	3
Hands (meet) on waist	Thrace	-
	Macedonia	31
	Thessaly	47
	Sporades	-
	Central Mainland	5
	Euboia	-
	Peloponnese	7
	South	1
	Cyclades	7
	E. Aegean	-
	Dodecanese	-
	Crete	29
Hands on pubic area	Thrace	-
	Macedonia	1
	Thessaly	1
	Sporades	-
	Central Mainland	-
	Euboia	-
	Peloponnese	-
	South	-
	Cyclades	-
	Samos	-
	Crete	-

Hands on penis	Thrace	-
	Macedonia	-
	Thessaly	1
	Sporades	-
	Central Mainland	-
	Euboia	-
	Peloponnese	-
	South	-
	Cyclades	1
	E. Aegean	-
	Dodecanese	-
	Crete	-
Legs crossed	Thrace	-
	Macedonia	-
	Thessaly	3
	Sporades	-
	Central Mainland	1
	Euboia	-
	Peloponnese	1
	South	1
	Cyclades	5
	E. Aegean	-
	Dodecanese	-
	Crete	1
Legs drawn up	Thrace	-
	Macedonia	-
	Thessaly	4
	Sporades	-
	Central Mainland	1
	Euboia	-
	Peloponnese	1
	South	-
	Cyclades	-
	E. Aegean	-
	Dodecanese	-
	Crete	1
Bearer	Thrace	-
	Macedonia	1
	Thessaly	5
	Sporades	-
	Central Mainland	-
	Euboia	-
	Peloponnese	-
	South	-
	Cyclades	-
	E. Aegean	-
	Dodecanese	-
	Crete	-

Kourotrophos	Thrace	-
	Macedonia	-
	Thessaly	2
	Sporades	-
	Central Mainland	-
	Euboia	-
	Peloponnese	1
	South	-
	Cyclades	2
	E. Aegean	-
	Dodecanese	-
	Crete	-

Fig. 52 Range of posture in relation to broad chronology and type of site

POSTURE	SITE-TYPE	DATE	TOTAL
Standing	OS	E, 54 M, 49 L, 221 F, 25 F/E, 13 N, 6 EBA, 7 LBA, 1	376
	CS	E, 2 M, 4 L, 6 F, 2	14
	BS (?)	E, 2 L, 2 F, 2 F/E, 1	7
Seated	OS	E, 16 M, 21 L, 46 F, 4 F/E, 1 N, 2	92
	CS	M, 1 L, 1	2
	BS?	L, 2 F, 1	3
Seated on chair	OS	E, 2 M, 2 L, 1	5
Seated on stool	OS	E, 3 M, 5 L, 11 F, 1 EBA, 1	22
Kneeling	OS	E, 2	2
Squatting	OS	E, 38 M, 20 L, 30 F, 4 F/E, 1 N, 4 EBA, 1 LBA, 1	95
	BS (?)	E, 1 L, 2	3
Reclining	OS	E, 1 M, 2	3

Birth-giving	OS	E, 2	2
Arms raised	OS	E, 3 M, 2 L, 4 F, 2 F/E, 2 LBA, 1	14
	BS	F/E	1
Arms extended	OS	E, 3 M, 7 L, 49 F, 6 N, 4 EBA, 1	66
	CS	M, 1	1
Hand around breast	CS	L, 1	1
Hands on breasts	OS	E, 10 M, 3 L, 4	17
Hands (meet) on breast area	OS	E, 7 M, 3 L, 4 F, 1	15
	CS	M, 1 L, 1	2
Hands (meet) below breasts	OS	E, 5 M, 7 L, 8 F, 1 F/E, 1	22
	BS?	L, 1	1
Hand(s) (meet) on chest	OS	E, 4 M, 4 L, 11 N, 2	21
Hands (meet) on abdomen	OS	E, 20 M, 14 L, 18 F, 1 N, 2	47
	BS?	L, 1 F, 2	3
Hands (meet) on waist	OS	E, 12 M, 14 L, 67 F, 15 F/E, 1 N, 7 EBA, 1 LBA, 1	113

	CS	M, 1 L, 2 F, 1	4
	BS	F, 3	3
Hands on pubic area	OS	E, 1	1
Hands on penis	BS	F	1
	OS?	L	1
Legs crossed	OS	E, 1 M, 1 L, 6	8
	BS?	L	1
Legs drawn up	OS	E, 1 M, 1 L, 1 F, 2 N/E, 1	6
Bearer	OS	E, 3 M, 2 L, 1	6
Kourotrophos	OS	E, 2 L, 1	3
	BS?	L, 2	2

Fig. 53 Range of postures related to 'sex' category

POSTURE	SEX	TOTAL
Standing	F	202
	PF	42
	Fform	45
	Pfform	3
	M	7
	PM	1
	A	104
	PA	14
	Amb	1
Seated	F	14
	PF	26
	Fform	2
	Pfform	-
	M	8
	PM	-
	A	12
	PA	8
	Amb	3
Seated on chair	F	1
	PF	-
	Fform	-
	Pfform	-
	M	3
	PM	-
	A	-
	PA	-
	Amb	1
Seated on stool	F	2
	PF	2
	Fform	-
	Pfform	-
	M	1
	PM	-
	A	9
	PA	3
	Amb	1
Kneeling	F	1
	PF	1
	Fform	-
	Pfform	-
	M	-
	PM	-
	A	-
	PA	-
	Amb	-

Squatting	F	44
	PF	9
	Fform	5
	Pfform	-
	M	-
	PM	1
	A	20
	PA	19
	Amb	1
Reclining	F	2
	PF	-
	Fform	-
	Pfform	-
	M	-
	PM	-
	A	-
	PA	1
	Amb	-
Birth-giving	F	2
	PF	-
	Fform	-
	Pfform	-
	M	-
	PM	-
	A	-
	PA	-
	Amb	-
Arms raised	F	7
	PF	-
	Fform	-
	Pfform	-
	M	1
	PM	-
	A	2
	PA	4
	Amb	-
Arms extended	F	35
	PF	1
	Fform	7
	Pfform	1
	M	2
	PM	-
	A	14
	PA	6
	Amb	-

Hand around breast	F	1
	PF	-
	Fform	-
	Pfform	-
	M	-
	PM	-
	A	-
	PA	-
	Amb	-
Hands on breasts	F	17
	PF	1
	Fform	-
	Pfform	-
	M	-
	PM	-
	A	-
	PA	1
	Amb	-
Hands (meet) on breast area	F	3
	PF	5
	Fform	2
	Pfform	-
	M	-
	PM	-
	A	-
	PA	5
	Amb	-
Hands (meet) below breasts	F	34
	PF	-
	Fform	-
	Pfform	-
	M	-
	PM	-
	A	-
	PA	-
	Amb	-
Hand(s) (meet) on chest	F	12
	PF	2
	Fform	2
	Pfform	-
	M	1
	PM	-
	A	2
	PA	2
	Amb	1

Hands (meet) on abdomen	F	48
	PF	5
	Fform	3
	Pfform	-
	M	-
	PM	-
	A	3
	PA	2
	Amb	-
Hands (meet) on waist	F	72
	PF	4
	Fform	13
	Pfform	1
	M	1
	PM	2
	A	26
	PA	8
	Amb	-
Hands on pubic area	F	-
	PF	-
	Fform	1
	Pfform	-
	M	-
	PM	-
	A	1
	PA	-
	Amb	-
Hands on penis	F	-
	PF	-
	Fform	-
	Pfform	-
	M	2
	PM	-
	A	-
	PA	-
	Amb	-
Legs crossed	F	7
	PF	5
	Fform	-
	Pfform	-
	M	-
	PM	-
	A	-
	PA	-
	Amb	-

Legs drawn up	F	3
	PF	1
	Fform	-
	Pfform	-
	M	-
	PM	-
	A	2
	PA	-
	Amb	-
Bearer	F	2
	PF	-
	Fform	-
	Pfform	-
	M	-
	PM	-
	A	3
	PA	-
	Amb	-
Kourotrophos	F	3
	PF	1
	Fform	-
	Pfform	-
	M	-
	PM	-
	A	1
	PA	-
	Amb	-

Fig. 54 Percentage of decorated and undecorated figurines

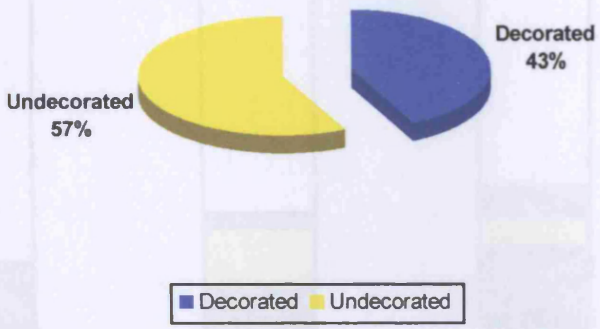
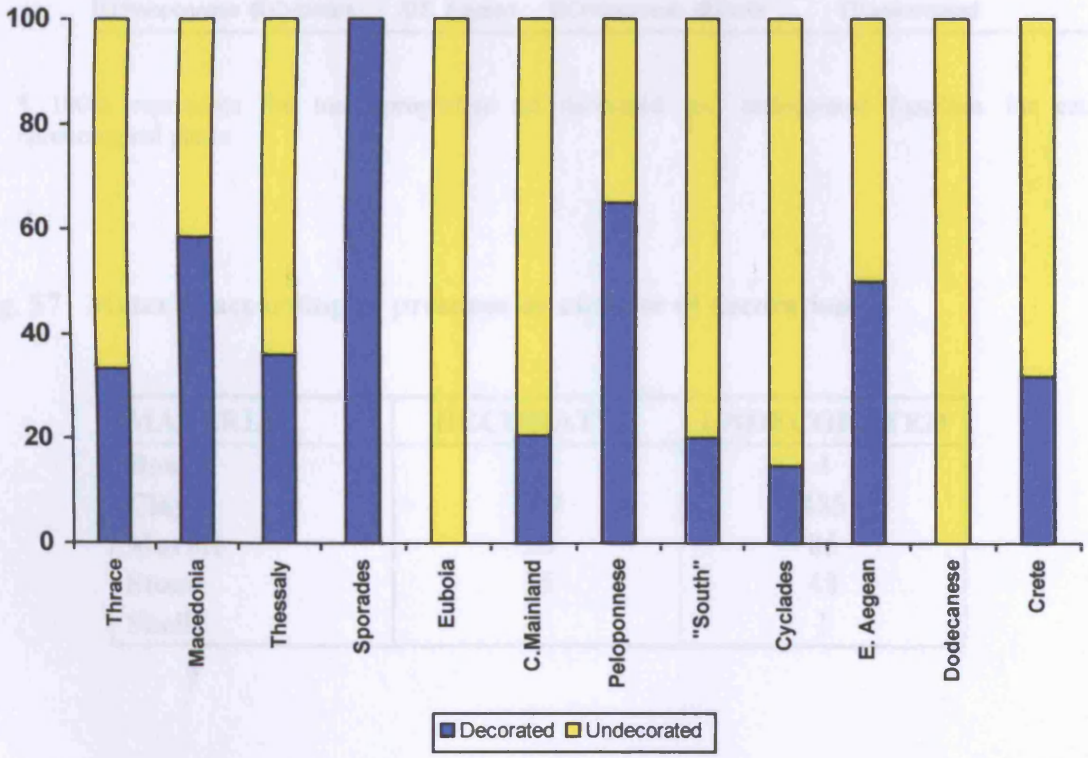
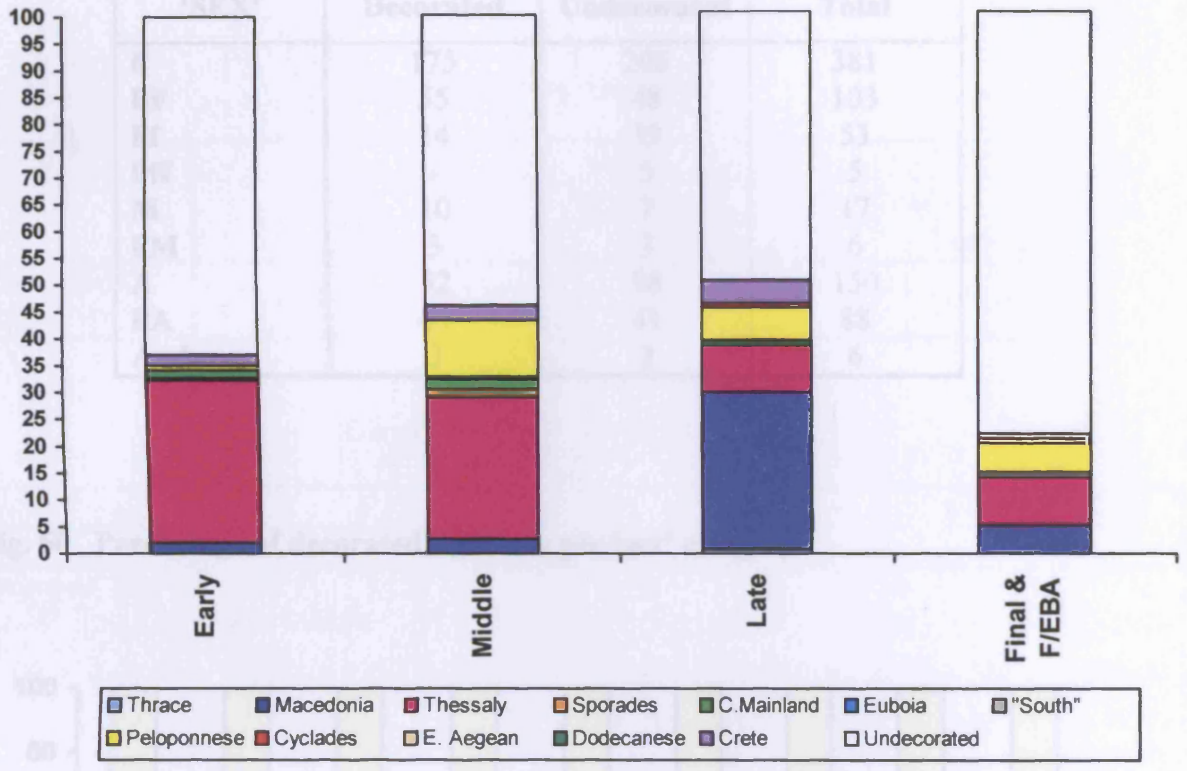


Fig. 55 Percentage of decorated and undecorated figurines of main assemblages by region



* "South" refers to figurines with no secure provenance, but which follow a south-Aegean typology.

Fig. 56 Percentage of decorated and undecorated figurines by region in relation to broad chronological phases



* 100% represents the total proportion of decorated and undecorated figurines for each chronological phase

Fig. 57 Material according to presence or absence of decoration

MATERIAL	DECORATED	UNDECORATED
Bone	1	4
Clay	429	485
Marble	20	85
Stone	15	48
Shell	1	1

Fig. 58 Method of surface treatment according to 'sex' categories

Method	F	PF	Ff	M	PM	A	PA	Amb	Total
Burnishing	25	11	3	2	-	2	2	-	45
Slip	17	9	4	-	-	8	6	-	44

Fig. 59 Presence or absence of decoration in relation to 'sexed' figurines

'SEX'	Decorated	Undecorated	Total
F	175	206	381
PF	55	48	103
Ff	14	39	53
Pff	-	5	5
M	10	7	17
PM	3	3	6
A	52	98	150
PA	47	41	88
Amb	3	3	6

Fig. 60 Percentage of decorated figurines per 'sex' category

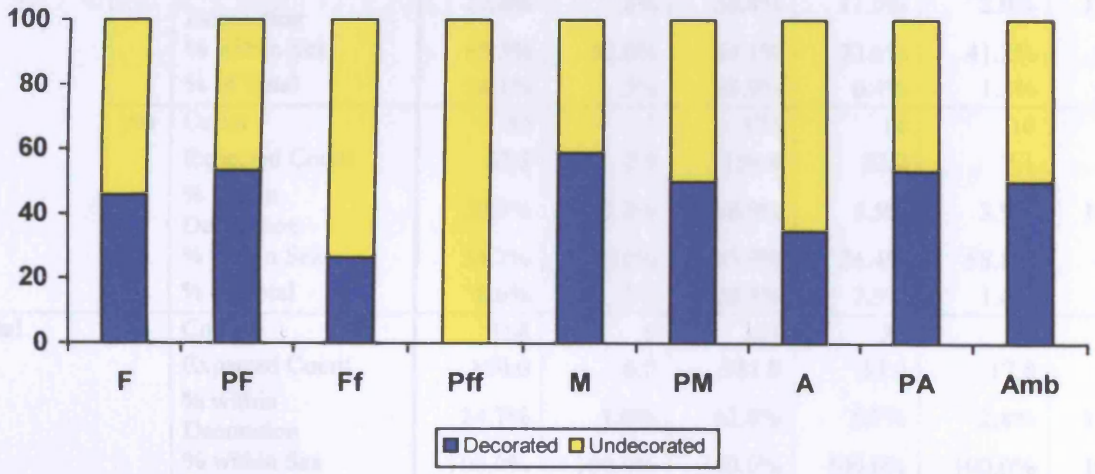


Fig. 61 $r \times c \chi^2$ test of independence: decoration and sex categories

Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Decoration * Sex	607	100.0%	0	.0%	607	100.0%

Decoration * Sex Crosstabulation

			Sex					Total
			A	Amb	F	Fform	M	
Decoration	no	Count	98	3	206	39	7	353
		Expected Count	87.2	3.5	221.6	30.8	9.9	353.0
		% within Decoration	27.8%	.8%	58.4%	11.0%	2.0%	100.0%
		% within Sex	65.3%	50.0%	54.1%	73.6%	41.2%	58.2%
		% of Total	16.1%	.5%	33.9%	6.4%	1.2%	58.2%
	yes	Count	52	3	175	14	10	254
		Expected Count	62.8	2.5	159.4	22.2	7.1	254.0
		% within Decoration	20.5%	1.2%	68.9%	5.5%	3.9%	100.0%
		% within Sex	34.7%	50.0%	45.9%	26.4%	58.8%	41.8%
		% of Total	8.6%	.5%	28.8%	2.3%	1.6%	41.8%
Total		Count	150	6	381	53	17	607
		Expected Count	150.0	6.0	381.0	53.0	17.0	607.0
		% within Decoration	24.7%	1.0%	62.8%	8.7%	2.8%	100.0%
		% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	24.7%	1.0%	62.8%	8.7%	2.8%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	13.154(a)	4	.011
Likelihood Ratio	13.449	4	.009
N of Valid Cases	607		

a 2 cells (20.0%) have expected count less than 5.
The minimum expected count is 2.51.

Directional Measures(a)

a ETA statistics are available for numeric data only.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.147	.011
	Cramer's V	.147	.011
N of Valid Cases		607	

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.
b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

A *rxc* χ^2 was carried out to discover whether there was a significant relationship between decoration and sex categories.

The χ^2 value of 13.15 had an associated probability value of < 0.05 (reported alpha criterion of significance), DF=4, showing that such an association is extremely unlikely to have arisen as a result of sampling error. Cramer's V was found to be 0.15 -thus nearly 2.3% of the variation in frequencies of sex categories can be explained by decoration. It can be concluded, therefore, that there is a significant association between sex categories and decoration, based on a slight tendency for asexual figurines to be decorated less often than other categories.

Fig. 62 Use of colour on motifs according to 'sex' categories

Colour	F	PF	Ff	Pff	M	PM	A	PA	Amb	Total
Black	22	9	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	32
Blue	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Green	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Red	15	4	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	21
White	8	3	1	-	-	-	3	1	-	16
White on red	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2

Fig. 63 Use of colour on the surface of 'sexed' figurines

Colour	F	PF	Ff	Pff	M	PM	A	PA	Amb	Total
Black	5	2	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	11
Buff	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Cream	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Red	3	2	-	-	1	-	3	2	-	11
White	4	2	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	8

Fig. 64 One-variable, one-tailed χ^2: decorated figurines according to chronology

Frequencies

Broad Date

	Observed N	Expected N*	Residual
Early	84	78.0	6.0
Middle	99	102.3	-3.3
Late	237	170.0	67.0
Final	15	72.4	-57.4
Final/EBA	10	22.3	-12.3
Total	445		

* The expected frequencies are based on the number of excavated sites for each broad date. For instance, as the number of Early sites (28) accounts for 17.5% of all excavated sites (160), we would expect that the decorated figurines recovered from Early sites would also represent 17.5% of the sample (445), i.e. 78.

Test Statistics

	Date
Chi-Square(a)	79.294
df	4
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is 22.3.

The χ^2 value of 79.3, DF=4 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.001. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (once in one thousand). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that not all Neolithic phases have produced the same number of decorated figurines. The results presented in the frequency table indicate that the practice of decoration was more common in the Late phase than in the others.

Fig. 65 Use of colour in relation to broad chronology

Early	Middle	Late	Final
black	black	black	black
red	red	red	blue
white		red on white	green
		white	white

Fig. 66 Use of colour found on selected anatomical parts *only* in relation to broad chronology and 'sex' categories

DATE	Body Part	Colour	'Sex'
Early	abdomen	black	F
	pubic area	black	PF
Middle	chest	black	F
	pubic area	black	F
	breasts	red	F
	breasts	red	F
	pubic area	red	F
	pubic area	red	F
	pubic area	red	F
	pubic area	white	F
Late	chest	black	PF
	abdomen	black	F
	pubic area	black	F
	pubic area	black	PF
	chest	red	F
	chest	red	F
	chest	red	F
	chest	red	F
	breasts	red	F
	breasts	red	F
	abdomen	red	F
	abdomen	red	F
	abdomen	red	F
	pubic area	red	F
	pubic area	red	F
	chest	white	F
	chest	white	F
	chest	white (on red)	F
	chest	white (on red)	F
	chest	white	A
	breasts	white (on red)	F
	abdomen	white	F
	abdomen	white	F
	abdomen	white	F
	pubic area	white	Ff
Final	pubic area	green	F

Fig. 67 Suggested meanings for decorative motifs adorning the body and face *only*
(The cross indicates a motif and all its variations)

Body decoration	Clothing	Body decoration or clothing	Jewellery
c2	b4+	b12+	b16
c3	b5	b14+	b1a
c4	b6	c1+	b2
c5	b7	c2	b3
c7	b8	c6	d1i
ca1	b9	cb1	d9
ca2	b10	ch1	la1
cav2	b11	ch16+	rd2+ ?
cc1	b12+	ch18	rm1 ?
cc2	b13	ch19+	rm5+
cc3	b14+	ch6	rm7 ?
ch2+	b16	ch7	rm8
ch3	c17+	cpl10	rs1+
ch4	b18	cpl11	rs2
ch5	ch8+	cpl4	rs3+
ch13	ch9+	cpl5+	sch1+
ch14	ch10+	d4	sch2+
ch15	ch11+	d5	sch3
ch17+	ch12	dil1	sch4+?
cpl7	cpl1+	dil14	sch5+?
cpl8	cpl2	dil7	sch6
cpl9	cpl3	dpl10	ssl1(b)
d1+	cpl6	dpl1+	
d2	d6	dpl22	
d3	d7	dpl26	
d8	dil12	dpl27	
dil10	dil13	dpl7	
dil11	dil2	dsl1	
dil2	dil3	ga19	
dil3	dil4	ga5	
dil6	dil5	ga6	
dpl2	dil8	ga7	
dpl11	dil9+	ga8	
dpl18+	dpl12	hpl10	
dpl19	dpl15	hpl11	
dpl20	dpl16	hpl13	
dpl10	dpl17	hpl14	
dpl21	dpl23+	hpl1+	
dpl9	dpl24	hpl22	
dsl2	dpl25	hpl7	
dsl3	dpl3	hsl1	
dsl5	dpl4	pa10	

Body decoration	Clothing	Body decoration or clothing	Jewellery
fhd13	dpl5	pa11	
fhd15+	dpl6	pa3	
fhd16	dpl8+	pa5	
fhd17		pu10	
fhd23	drl1+	pu11	
fhd26+	dsl4	pu12	
fhd3	dsl6	pu15+	
	fhd29	pu16+	
fhd39	g2	pu18	
fhd41	ga11	pu1+	
fhd46	ga12	pu21	
fhd48	ga15	rd1+	
fhd49	ga20	spl10	
fhd6	ga22	spl27	
fhd8	ga23	spl5	
ga1	ga24	tm1	
ga2	ga25	vpl14+	
ga18	ga28	vpl16+	
ga19	ga29	vpl17	
ga21	ga3	vpl18+	
ga6	ga30	vpl19	
ga7	ga31	vpl20	
ga8	ga4	vpl5	
ga26	ga9	cpl6+	
hpl12	hdl1+	z13	
hpl15	hpl16+	z1+	
hpl19	hpl20+	z2	
hpl24	hpl21	z3+	
hpl5	hpl23	z4+	
hpl7	hpl2+	z5	
hpl8	hpl4	z6	
hpl9	hpl6	z7	
pa3	hsl6		
hsl2+	la1		
hsl8	la2		
pu13+	m1		
pu14+	pa13		
pu2+	pa16		
pu3	pa17		
pu4	pa18		
pu5	pa19		
pu6	pa7		
pu7	pa8		
pu8	pa9		
pu9	pu22		
rm2	pu24		
rm3	pu25		
rm7	rm4		

Body decoration	Clothing	Body decoration or clothing	Jewellery
rm9	rm10		
s1+	rm11		
s2i, ii	rm4		
s3	rm6		
s5	rs4		
s7	rs5		
s8+	s2ii		
spl2	s4		
spl11	s6+		
spl12	s9		
spl13	spl17		
spl14	spl23		
spl15	spl8		
spl16	vpl-hb1		
spl1+	vpl-hb2		
spl20	vpl-hb3		
spl21	vpl-hb4+		
spl25	vpl-hb5		
spl26	vpl-hb6		
spl3	vpl12+		
spl4	vpl13+		
spl6+	vpl2		
ssl1	vpl22		
ssl2	vpl24		
ssl3	vpl26		
ssl4	vpl27		
ssl5	vpl4+		
ssl6	vpl7+		
vpl1	vpl8+		
vpl25	vrl+		
vrl3	vrl2		
vsl3	z10		
	z11		
	z12		
	z14		
	z15		
	z8		

Fig. 68 Motifs and attributes shared between 'sex' categories

Bands decorating the waist

Motif Codes	*Body Part*	*Colour*	*Method*	*'Sex'*	*Frequency*
b4ii	waist	black	p	F	1
b4iii	waist	1red,1white	inc, inc/p, c	3F, 1PF, 1PM, 1A	6
b4iv	waist		inc	6F, 1A	7
b4vi	waist	black	inc, p, c	5F, 4PF, 3Ff, 1M, 1A,1Amb	15
b12i	waist		inc	PF	1
b12ii	waist		inc	A	1
b14i	waist		inc/pu	Ff	1
b14ii	waist		pu	A	1

Mirror crosses

c1i	neck,		Inc	A	2
c1ii	breast area abdomen		inc	F	1

Set of double crosses

c2	shoulder:left		inc, inc/inf	A	2

Single cross

c4	abdomen:side		inc	2F, 1M, 1A	4

Concentric circles, similar to spiral motif (s)

cc1	abdomen lower back	white white	inc, inc/inf inc, inc/inf	PF PF	2 1

Mirror single chevrons

ch2i	breast area, breasts		inc	F	3
ch2ii	breasts		inc	F	1
ch2iii	breast area		inc	F	1
ch4	breast		inc	F	1

Multiple or single chevron(s) forming a zigzag band

ch8i	torso:front & sides		inc	A	1
ch8ii	torso:front & sides		inc	A	1
ch8iii	torso:front & sides		inc	A	1
ch8iv	torso: front & sides, lower body: front & sides		inc	A	2

Multiple chevrons in side arrangement forming horizontal band(s)
(see also ch10 and ch11, ch 12)

Motif Code	*Body Parts*	*Colour*	*Method*	*'Sex'*	*Frequency*
ch9i	lower body:fr & b		inc	A	1
ch9ii	lower body: front		inc	A	1
ch9iii	lower body: front	white	inc/inf	A	1

Multiple chevrons in upright arrangement forming horizontal band(s)
(see also ch9 and ch11, ch12)

ch10i	lower body: front		inc	1F, 1A	2
ch10ii	lower body: front		inc	A	1

Multiple large chevrons forming a vertical stack
(see also ch9, ch10 and ch12)

ch11i	lower	white	inc,	1PF,	2
ch11ii	body:front & back lower body:front		inc/inf inc	1PA F	1
ch11iii	lower body:front		inc	F	1
ch11iv	body:front & back		inc	A	1

Multiple random chevrons

ch15	Legs		inc	A	1
ch16i	Legs		inc	PF	2
ch16ii	legs		inc	PF	1

Multiple parallel chevrons forming a ring band

ch17i	legs:upper	black	p	F	1
ch17ii	legs:ankles		inc	PA	1
ch17iii	legs:upper-lower	black	p	F	1

Large "chevrons" on side arrangement *

ch19i	waist-lower legs: front, sides	black	p	F	1
ch19ii	waist-lower legs:front		inc	PA	1

Mirror sets of double curvilinear lines in diagonal arrangement

Motif	*Body Parts*	*Colour*	*Method*	*'Sex'*	*Frequency*
cpl1i	torso: shoulders -chest		inc	1F, 1PF, 1A	3
cpl1ii	torso:sides -waist	red	inc	Ff	1
cpl1iii	torso:shoulders -waist		inc	Ff	1
cpl1iv	back:mid-base		inc	A	1
cpl1v	shoulders-chest		inc	F	1

Mirror sets of parallel lines in a diagonal arrangement

cpl2i	torso:waist level	white	inc, inc/inf	1F, 1Ff	2

Parallel curvy lines in a horizontal arrangement

cpl5i	legs: encircling	black	inc, p	1F,1PF, 1na	3
cpl5ii	legs: encircling		inc	na	1

Diamond

d1i	chest		inc	F	1
d9	neck:front	red	p	F	1
d1ii	back:upper	red	inc,inc/inf	F	1
d9	back:neck -waist	black	p	F	1

d2	abdomen	white	inc/inf	F	1
d3	abdomen, back:lower		inc	A	1 (same figurine)
d8	abdomen, back		inc	F	1 (same figurine)

X motif on the torso

dil1	torso: shoulders-waist	black	p	F	1
dil9i	torso:shoulders-waist, back: shoulders -waist	black, red, black	inc, p	5F,1PA	6 (both on torso &back)

Intersecting diagonal parallel bands in "woven" arrangement

Motif Code	*Body Parts*	*Colour*	*Method*	*'Sex'*	*Frequency*
dil2	torso:upper -mid, back:upper -lower	2black	p	F	2
dil3	torso:upper, back:upper -mid	black	p	2F, 1PA	3
dil4	back:mid-lower	black	p	F	1
dil5	back:upper-mid	black	p	F	1

Three Diagonal parallel straight lines (see Dpl21)

dpl18i	leg:front & back		inc	na	1
dpl18ii	leg:knee-base		inc	F	1

Mirror sets of diagonal parallel lines

dpl1i	back: shoulders	red	inf	F	1
dpl1ii	shoulders: front	red	inc/inf	F	2
dpl1iii	shoulders: front		inc	PA	1

Multiple diagonal parallel straight lines
(see dpl18)

dpl21	legs	red	p	F	3

Mirror sets of double straight lines

dpl22i	torso:sides-waist, back: sides-waist		inc	F	2
dpl22ii	torso :front		inc	A	1

Diagonal parallel lines intersecting

dpl23i	lower body: buttocks-legs	black	p	F	1
dpl23ii	lower body: front		inc	A	1

Diagonal long straight lines

Motif Code	*Body Parts*	*Colour*	*Method*	*'Sex'*	*Frequency*
dpl8i	back:shoulders-waist, torso: shoulders-waist	2black	p	2F, 2A	4
dpl8ii	back:neck-waist	black	p	F	1
dpl8iii	torso:neck-mid	black	p	F	1
dpl8iv	back	black	p	na	1
dpl8v	back	?	p	F	1
dpl8vi	torso:neck-waist	?	p	F	1

Parallel straight lines in a radiating arrangement

drl1i	hips-legs: front, hips-legs: front & back		inc	1F, 1Ff, 2F	4
drl1ii	legs:upper-lower:front		inc	F	2
drl1iii	as above		inc	F	1

Short straight line

fhd15i	chin		p	na	1
fhd15ii	chin		inc	ni	1

Diagonal lines

fhd17	face	black, red	inc, inc/p	na	2

Modelled hair: long plastic strands

fhd34	crown-mid back		pl	1F, 1PF, 1PA, 2na	5

Modelled hair: shorter plastic bands

fhd35i	crown-shoulders		pl	1F, 3na	4
fhd35ii	crown-shoulders		pl	na	2
fhd35iii	crown-shoulders		pl	F	1

Modelled hair: pulled up above the neck base

fhd36	crown		pl	2F, 3na	5

Three diagonal lines

Motif Code	*Body Parts*	*Colour*	*Method*	*'Sex'*	*Frequency*
fhd46	face:cheeks		inc	na	2

Random diagonal short lines

hdl1i	neck		inc	PA	1
hdl1ii	neck:back		inc	A	1
hdl1iii	back:neck-mid		inc	PA	1

Painted crown: hair or cap
(see hd4, hd7)

hd1	crown	black	p	na	2

Plastically modelled square crown to represent cap
(see hd1, hd7)

hd4	crown		pl, inc/pl	F, 1PF,6na	8

Plastically modelled rounded crown to represent cap, some decorated
(see hd4 and hd1)

hd7i	crown		pl	2F, 7na	9
hd7ii	crown		inc/pl	na	1
hd7iii	crown		pl	na	1

Mirror single or double set of short parallel lines (body decoration/clothing)

hpl1i	shoulder blades, shoulders	1red, 1white, 1red/white	inc/inf	3A, 7F	10
hpl1ii	shoulder blades		inc	F	1
hpl1iii	shoulder blades		inc	PF	1
hpl1iv	shoulder blades		inc	PF	1

Multiple horizontal lines (clothing)

hpl2i	torso:sides - centre:upper	white	inc/inf	F	1
hpl2ii	torso:sides - centre:upper		inc	F	1
hpl2iii	torso:sides - centre:whole	black	p	F	1
hpl2iv	torso:sides-centre:upper		inc	Ff	1
hpl2v	torso:sides-centre, back:sides-centre		inc	F	1

Short parallel horizontal lines forming vertical band

Motif Code	*Body Parts*	*Colour*	*Method*	*'Sex'*	*Frequency*
hpl6	torso:sides, body:sides		inc	1F, 1A	2

Three horizontal parallel lines

hpl14	thighs:upper: front	white	inc, inc/inf	1PF, 1PA 1na	3

Parallel multiple lines in horizontal arrangement

hpl16i	lower body: front-sides		inc	PF	1
hpl16ii	lower body:front, hips		inc, inc/inf	F	3
hpl16iii	lower b:front, lower b: front&back		inc	1F, 1A	2
hpl16iv	mid torso-base		inc	Ff	1
hpl16v	lower b: front&back		inc	PF	1
hpl16vi	neck-base		inc	PA	1

2 parallel lines

hpl22	back	dark	inc, p	1F, 1A	2

Horizontal line

hsl2i	waist (front or back or both)	1white, 1red, 1black	c, inc, inc/inf, p	6F, 4A, 1Ff, 1PF	12
hsl2ii	waist:back		inc	F	1

Vertical line of multiple punctures

pu1i	neck :front		pu, dr	na	2
pu1ii	neck –upper torso	black	pu	A	1
pu1iii	neck :front		pu	A	1

Cluster of punctures (3 or more)

pu2i	shoulders: front	red	pu/inf	F	1
pu2ii	shoulders: front		pu	F	1
pu2iii	shoulders: back		pu	PF	1
pu6	shoulders	white	pu, pu/inf	F	2
pu6	hips, neck	white	pu/inf	F	1

Motif Code	*Body Parts*	*Colour*	*Method*	*'Sex'*	*Frequency*
pu6	neck		pu	F	1

Set of 2 or 3 punctures in horizontal arrangement

pu13i	back:lower		pu	PF	1
pu13ii	back:lower, back: upper		pu	1F, 1PF, 1A	3

pu14i	back:lower		pu	Ff	1
pu14ii	abdomen		pu	F	1

Cluster of multiple punctures in rectangular formations

pu15i	back:upper-lower	red/white	pu/inf	F	1
pu15ii	back		pu	PF	1

pu16i	torso:chest-waist	red/white	pu/inf	F	1
pu16ii	torso:breast area		pu	PF	1

Multiple small circles

pu24	torso:sides		pu	F	2

Single, double or multiple rings

rd1i	leg:lower		inc	Ff	1
rd1ii	leg:lower		inc	PF	1
rd1iii	leg:upper		inc	PF	1
rd1iv	leg:lower	red	p	F	1

rm9	leg:mid, leg: lower	white	inc, inc/inf	1PF, 1na	2

rs2	ankles		inc, p, c	F, PF,Ff, Amb	4

Single, double or multiple rings

rs1i	neck	red, white, red/white, black	inc, inc/inf, p	6F, 1Ff,2A, 2PA,1na	12
rs1ii	neck		inc, c	A	2
rs1iv	neck		pu	F	1
rs1v	torso:upper		inc	PA	1
rs1vi	torso:upper		inc	F	2

rd2i	neck	red, black	inc, p, inc/p	7F, 3A,1PA, 2na,1ni	14
rd2ii	neck		inc	A	1

Motif Code	*Body Parts*	*Colour*	*Method*	*'Sex'*	*Frequency*
rd2iii	neck	?	inc, p	F, na	2

rm2	neck	black	p	na	1
rm3	neck	black, red	p	na	2

rm5i	neck:back	black	p	F	1
rm5ii	neck	red, red/white	inc, inc/inf, p	4F, 3A, 4PA, 1na	12
rm5iii	neck	?	p	F	1

Multiple curvilinear parallel lines around shoulders

rm4i	upper torso: encircling		inc	F	2
rm4ii	upper torso: encircling		inc	F	1

Single or Multiple rings

rs3i	wrist (s)	red	inc, p	1F, 1PF, 1A, 1na	4
rs3ii	wrist		inc	PF	1
rm7	wrist		inc	3F, 1Ff	4

Curvilinear motif representing "skirt" line

rs4	lower body:front & back	white	inc, inc/inf	F	2

Ring motif encircling shoulders

rs5	shoulder area:front & back, front, back	white	inc, inc/inf	4PF, 2A	6

Spiral variation

s1i	abdomen		inc	F	1
s1ii	abdomen	black	p	F	1
s1iii	abdomen	black	p/pl	F	1

Spiral variation

s2i	buttocks, legs:front & back		inc	1PF, 1na	2
s2ii	buttocks, leg:front	white	inc, inc/inf	PF	2

s7	buttock		inc	Ff	1

Horizontal double spiral

Motif Code	*Body Parts*	*Colour*	*Method*	*'Sex'*	*Frequency*
s5	chest, torso	?	p, inc/pu	F, PF	2

Mirror spirals

s6i	lower body: front		inc	F	1
s6ii	lower body: front&back	white	inc/inf	F	1

Single spiral

s8i, s8ii	shoulder		inc	A	1
s8iii	shoulders	white	inc, inc/inf	1F, 1A	2

Suspended chevron, "amulet"

sch1i	neck:front (fr&b), back:neck, chest	black	inc, p, ca	3F,1PF, 2Ff,2A, 1PA,1na	10
sch1ii	neck:front, neck:back, neck:fr & b	white	inc, inc/p, inc/inf, c	3F, 2PF, 2Ff,1M, 3PA,2na	13
sch1iii	neck:front		inc	F	1
sch1iv	neck:front, back:neck	black	p	F	2
sch1v	back:neck -mid		inc	Ff	1
sch1vi	neck:front		inc/pl	F	1

Suspended double chevron, "amulet"

sch2i	neck :front, neck :fr& b	red, white	inc, inc/inf	2F,1Ff, 2A,1PA	6
sch2ii	neck:front, neck:fr & b	black	inc, p	1F,1A	2
sch2iii	neck:front	black	p	F	1
sch2iv	neck:fornt	black	p	na	1
sch2v	neck:front		inc	F	1

Suspended long chevron, "amulet"

sch3	neck:fr, torso:neck-waist, back:neck -waist		c, inc	2F, 1M, 1A	4

Suspended Multiple chevron, "amulet"

Motif Code	*Body Parts*	*Colour*	*Method*	*'Sex'*	*Frequency*
sch4i	back:neck-waist	red	p	F	1
sch4ii	neck:fr & b	red	p	F	1
sch5i	neck:front, neck:back		inc	1F,2PA	3
sch5ii	neck:front	red	p	F	1
sch5iii	chest-abdomen		inc	PF	1
sch5iv	back:upper -lower		inc	F	1

Short parallel lines (horizontal)

spl1i	arm:fr & b, arm:back		inc	1PF, 1PA	2
spl1ii	arm:front, arm:back		inc	PA	2
spl21	arm:upper, hips		inc	1F, 1A	2

Short parallel lines (vertical)

spl6i	legs:upper		inc	A	1
spl6ii	knees	white	inc, inc/inf	1F, 1A	2
spl15	abdomen: side		inc	F	1
spl16	abdomen		inc	F	1
spl14	knee, chest:left		inc	1Ff, 1PA	2

Vertical long parallel lines, beard?

spl7	neck		inc	2PM, 1F	3

Two short parallel vertical lines

vpl1	chest		inc	A	2
vpl3	torso:chest-mid	red	inc, inc/inf	F	2

Multiple parallel vertical lines

Motif Code	*Body Parts*	*Colour*	*Method*	*'Sex'*	*Frequency*
vpl4i	chest, neck-chest, chest-abdomen, chest-base, back:neck-upper, back: upper-lower, abdomen	3white, 1red /white	inc, inc/inf	17F, 1PF, 1Ff, 6A	25
vpl4ii	chest		inc	1F, 1A, PA	3
vpl4iii	chest	red	p	F	1
vpl5	back:upper-mid		inc	F	1
vpl6i	back:upper-mid		inc	Ff	1
vpl6ii	torso:neck-waist		inc	PA	1
vpl7i	back	white/red	inc, inc/inf	6F, 2A	8
vpl7ii	back:upper-lower		inc	F	1
vpl7iii	back	2red,3white, 1black	inc, inc/inf	6F, 1Ff, 8A	15
vpl7iv	back	white	inc/inf	F	1

Vertical parallel lines in radiating arrangement

vrl1i	torso:neck-base		inc	A	1
vrl1ii	back:neck-lower/base, chest, torso: neck-mid		inc	3A, 1PA	4
vrl1iii	back:neck-waist		inc	F	1

Parallel lines (along sides of torso)

vpl14i	torso:mid-waist:sides		inc	PF	2
vpl14ii	torso:upper-waist:sides		inc	PF	1

Mirror vertical lines, "braces"

Motif Code	*Body Parts*	*Colour*	*Method*	*'Sex'*	*Frequency*
vpl8i, vpl8ii	torso/back: shoulders-waist		inc	F	1
vpl8iii	torso/back: shoulders-waist	black	p	F	1

Wavy multiple vertical lines

vpl11i	back:upper-lower	red	p	PF	1
vpl11ii	back:upper-lower	black	p	F	1
vpl11iii	neck:fr & b	black	p	F	1

Vertical parallel lines (from the waist down)

vpl12i	torso:chest-waist, back:mid-waist	1red, 1?	inc, p	2F, 1PF	3
vpl12ii	back:mid-waist	red	p	F	1

vpl13i	lower body: front: waist-thighs	red	p	F	1
vpl13ii	lower body: front		inc	F	1

vpl16i	abdomen-leg, buttock(s)-thigh (side)/leg, legs:fr & b	3red, 1brown, 1black	p	3F, 3PF	6
vpl16ii	buttocks-leg, leg	black	p	1PF, 1na	2
vpl16iii	buttocks-leg	black	p	PF	1
vpl16iv	hip-leg, hip-thigh, leg(s), legs:front, thigh:front	1red, 3black	inc, p	3F, 2PF, 1A, 1na	7
vpl16v	leg;front	red	p	F	1
vpl16vi	waist-lower leg:sides & back	red	p	F	1
vpl16vii	buttocks-legs	red	p	F	1

Motif Code	*Body Parts*	*Colour*	*Method*	*'Sex'*	*Frequency*
vpl16viii	lower body:fr & b	black	p	F	1
vpl17	leg, legs:front		inc	1F, 1na	2
vpl18i	leg:upper-lower	?	p	F	1
vpl18ii	legs:waist-feet	black	p	F	1
vpl18iii	leg	black	p	na	1
vpl19	leg-thigh	red	p	F	1

Vertical parallel lines hanging from "belt" (from the waist down)

vpl-hb4i	buttocks-thighs		inc	PF	1
vpl-hb4ii	hips-thighs		inc	PF	1
vpl-hb2	buttcocks-legs	?	p	F	1
vpl-hb3	waist-mid leg	black	p	F	1

Zigzag (on chest)

z1i	chest	white	inc/inf	A	1
z1ii	waist:front		inc	F	1
z1iii	abdomen	white	inc/inf	F	1
z1iv	waist:front		inc	na	1
z1v	abdomen		inc	PF	1
z1vi	hips:front		inc	A	1
z5	torso	black	inc/inf	A	1

Zigzag lines (on lower body)

z3i	waist-base:front		inc	F	1
z3ii	legs:fr & b, leg:upper		inc	1PF, 1na	4
z2	legs:upper		inc	A	1
z4	lower body:front	red	inc, inc/inf	1F, 1A	2

Fig. 69 Use of motifs in relation to symbolism, 'sex' categories, broad chronology and region

Body Decoration

Motif Code	Body Part	'Sex'	Date: broad	Region
fhd46	face	non-applicable (na)	M	Thessaly
fhd46	face	na	M	Thessaly
fhd23	face	na	L	Macedonia
fhd26vi	face	na	L	Thessaly
fhd39	face	F	L	Thessaly
fhd41	face	na	L	Thessaly
fhd48	face	na	L	Macedonia
fhd6	face	na	L	Peloponnese
fhd26iv	face	na	F	C. Mainland
ch4	breasts	F	E	Thessaly
ch2ii	breasts	F	L	Macedonia
s1iii	abdomen	F	E	Thessaly
ssl1	abdomen	PF	E	Thessaly
pu14ii	abdomen	F	E	Macedonia
cc1	abdomen	PF	M	Crete
c4	abdomen	L	L	Crete
hsl8	abdomen	F	L	Macedonia
spl4	abdomen	F	L	Macedonia
cc1	abdomen	PF	L	Macedonia
s1ii	abdomen	F	L	Thessaly
ssl4	abdomen	A	L	Macedonia
ch5	abdomen	F	L	Macedonia
z1iii	abdomen	F	L	Macedonia
d8	abdomen	F	L	Macedonia
ga26	abdomen	F	L	Thessaly
dil11	abdomen	F	L	Macedonia
spl16	abdomen	Ff	L	Macedonia
s5	abdomen	F	L	Thessaly
vpl1	abdomen	A	L	Macedonia
spl26	chest	PA	M	Thessaly
c3	chest	F	L	Crete
vpl1	chest	A	L	Macedonia
c7	chest	F	L	Macedonia
hpl5	chest	PF	L	Thessaly
hpl12	hips	PF	L	Macedonia
c5	hips	PF	L	Macedonia
rm9	hips	na	L	Macedonia
pa3	pubic area	F	L	Macedonia

Clothing (general attire)

Motif Code	Body Part	'Sex'	Date:broad	Region
dpl6	torso	na	M	Peloponnese
dil2	torso	F	M	Peloponnese
dil9i	torso	F	M	Peloponnese
dil3	torso	PA	L	Thessaly
cpl1ii	torso	Ff	L	Macedonia
cpl1iii	torso	F	L	Macedonia
cpl1v	torso	F	L	Macedonia
d4	torso	F	L	Peloponnese
dil9i	torso	F	L	Macedonia
dil9i	torso	F	L	Macedonia
dpl8i	torso	F	L	Thessaly
dpl8i	torso	F	L	Thessaly
hpl2i	torso	F	L	Macedonia
hpl2ii	torso	F	L	Macedonia
hpl2iii	torso	F	L	Macedonia
vpl4i	torso	F	L	Thessaly
vpl4i	torso	F	L	Thessaly
ch8i	torso	A	L	Macedonia
ch8iii	torso	A	L	Macedonia
cpl1i	torso	A	L	Macedonia
vpl4i	torso	A	L	Macedonia
vpl4i	chest	PA	E	C. Mainland
hpl2iv	chest	Ff	E	Thessaly
vpl4iii	chest	F	M	Peloponnese
vpl4i	chest	Ff	L	Macedonia
dil9i	chest	F	L	Thessaly
vpl4i	chest	F	L	Macedonia
vpl4i	chest	F	L	Macedonia
vpl4i	chest	F	L	Macedonia
vpl4i	chest	F	L	Macedonia
vpl4i	chest	F	L	Macedonia
vpl4i	chest	F	L	Macedonia
vpl4i	chest	F	L	Macedonia
vpl4i	chest	F	L	Macedonia
vpl4i	chest	F	L	Macedonia
vpl4i	chest	F	L	Macedonia
vpl4i	chest	F	L	Macedonia
vpl4i	chest	A	L	Macedonia
vpl4i	chest	A	L	Macedonia
vpl4i	chest	A	L	Macedonia
vpl4i	chest	A	L	Macedonia
vpl4i	chest	A	L	Macedonia
vpl4ii	chest	A	L	Macedonia
vpl4i	chest&back	F	L	Macedonia
vpl4i	chest-base	A	L	Macedonia

Motif Code	Body Part	'Sex'	Date:broad	Region
cpl1i	breast area	F	L	Crete
ch8ii	body:sides	A	L	Macedonia
ch8iv	body:sides	A	L	Macedonia
vpl4i	abdomen	PF	L	Macedonia
dil1	shouders-waist	F	L	Peloponnese
cpl1i	shoulders	PF	L	Macedonia
dpl1iii	shoulders	PA	L	Macedonia
dpl1i	shoulders	F	L	Macedonia
dpl1ii	shoulders	F	?	Crete
dpl8ii, iii	torso&back	F	E	Thessaly
dpl4	torso&back	F	M	Peloponnese
dil9i	torso&back	PA	L	Thessaly
dil9i	torso&back	F	L	Macedonia
dpl8v, vi	torso&back	F	L	Thessaly
hpl2v	torso&back	F	L	Macedonia
dil2	back	F	M	Peloponnese
dil3	back	F	M	Peloponnese
dpl8iv	back	na	M	Peloponnese
cpl1iv	back	A	L	Macedonia
dil3	back	F	L	Thessaly
dil4	back	F	L	Thessaly
dil5	back	F	L	Thessaly
dpl8i	back	A	L	Macedonia
dpl8i	back	A	L	Macedonia
vpl4i	back	F	L	Macedonia
vpl7i	back	F	L	Macedonia
vpl7i	back	A	L	Macedonia
vpl7i	back	F	L	Macedonia
vpl7i	back	F	L	Macedonia
vpl7i	back	F	L	Macedonia
vpl7i	back	F	L	Macedonia
vpl7i	back	A	L	Macedonia
vpl7i	back	F	L	Macedonia
vpl7ii	back	F	L	Macedonia
vpl7iii	back	A	L	Macedonia
vpl7iii	back	A	L	Macedonia
vpl7iii	back	A	L	Macedonia
vpl7iii	back	F	L	Macedonia
vpl7iii	back	A	L	Macedonia
vpl7iii	back	A	L	Macedonia
vpl7iii	back	Ff	L	Macedonia
vpl7iii	back	A	L	Macedonia
vpl7iii	back	F	L	Macedonia

Motif Code	Body Part	'Sex'	Date:broad	Region
vpl7iii	back	F	L	Macedonia
vpl7iii	back	F	L	Macedonia
vpl7iii	back	F	L	Macedonia
vpl7iii	back	F	L	Macedonia
vpl7iii	back	F	L	Macedonia
vpl7iii	back	A	L	Macedonia
vpl7iv	back	A	L	Macedonia
vpl7iv	back	F	L	Macedonia
ch6	back:shoulders	A	L	Macedonia
ch11i	lower body (l.b.)	PF	L	Macedonia
ch11i	l.b.	PA	L	Macedonia
ch10i	l.b.	F	L	Macedonia
ch11iii	l.b.	F	L	Macedonia
s6i	l.b.	F	L	Macedonia
s6ii	l.b.	F	L	Macedonia
z4	l.b.	F	L	Macedonia
ch9i	l.b.	A	L	Macedonia
ch9ii	l.b.	A	L	Macedonia
ch9iii	l.b.	A	L	Macedonia
ch10i	l.b.	A	L	Macedonia
ch10ii	l.b.	A	L	Macedonia
ch11ii	l.b.	A	L	Macedonia
ch11iv	l.b.	A	L	Macedonia
ch11iv	l.b.	A	L	Macedonia
z4	l.b.	A	L	Macedonia
ch8iv	l.b.	A	L	Macedonia
d6	l.b.	A	F	Macedonia

Body Decoration or Clothing

ch1	breasts	F	L	Macedonia
z1i	chest	A	L	Macedonia
pu16i	chest	F	L	Crete
z1v	abdomen	PF	M	Macedonia
ga6	abdomen	PF	L	Macedonia
z1iii	abdomen	F	L	Macedonia
de1	abdomen	A	L	Macedonia
c1ii	abdomen	F	L	Macedonia
hpl10	hips	PF	L	Macedonia
z1vi	hips	A	L	Macedonia

Motif Code	Body Part	'Sex'	Date:broad	Region
pa10	pubic area	F	M	Thessaly
pa11	pubic area	F	M	Peloponnese
pa10	pubic area	F	M	Peloponnese
pa10(b)	pubic area	F	L	Peloponnese
pa5	pubic area	F	L	Peloponnese

Jewellery

fhd26+	ears	na	L	Cyclades
fhd26+	ears	na	L	Macedonia

sch5+	chest	F	M	Peloponnese
sch5+	chest	PA	M	Thessaly
sch5+	chest	F	L	Macedonia
sch5+	chest	PF	L	Macedonia
sch5+	chest	F	L	Macedonia
sch5+	chest	PA	L	Macedonia

d1	abdomen	F	L	Macedonia

sch1+	neck:chest&back	Ff	E?	Macedonia
sch1+	neck:chest&back	na	E	Thessaly
sch1+	neck:chest&back	PA	E	Thessaly
sch1+	neck:chest&back	F	E	Thessaly
sch1+	neck:chest&back	F	E	Macedonia
sch1+	neck:chest&back	F	M	Peloponnese
sch1+	neck:chest&back	na	M	Thessaly
sch1+	neck:chest&back	PF	M	Thessaly
sch1+	neck:chest&back	F	M	Thessaly
sch1+	neck:chest&back	PA	M	Thessaly
sch1+	neck:chest&back	PA	M	Thessaly
sch1+	neck:chest&back	A	M	Thessaly
sch1+	neck:chest&back	PA	M	Macedonia
sch1+	neck:chest&back	na	M	Peloponnese
rd2+	neck	F	L	Thessaly
rd2+	neck	F	L	Thessaly
rd2+	neck	A	L	Macedonia
rd2+	neck	na	L	Thessaly
rd2+	neck	A	L	Macedonia
rd2+	neck	F	L	Macedonia
rd2+	neck	F	L	Macedonia
rd2+	neck	PA	L	Macedonia
rd2+	neck	F	L	Macedonia
rd2+	neck	F	L	Macedonia
rd2+	neck	F	L	Macedonia
rd2+	neck	F	L	Macedonia
rd2+	neck	na	L	Macedonia
rd2+	neck	na	L	Macedonia

Motif Code	Body Part	'Sex'	Date:broad	Region
rm5+	neck	F	L	Macedonia
rm5+	neck	A	L	Macedonia
rm5+	neck	PA	L	Macedonia
rm5+	neck	na	L	Macedonia
rm5+	neck	F	L	Macedonia
rm5+	neck	F	L	Macedonia
rm5+	neck	F	L	Macedonia
rm5+	neck	PA	L	Macedonia
rm5+	neck	F	L	Thessaly
rm5+	neck	PA	L	Thessaly
rm5+	neck	PA	L	Thessaly
rm5+	neck	A	L	Macedonia
rm5+	neck	F	L	Macedonia
rm5+	neck	A	L	Macedonia
rm5+	neck	F	L	Thessaly
sch1+	neck:chest&back	F	L	Thessaly
sch1+	neck:chest&back	Ff	L	Cyclades
sch1+	neck:chest&back	A	L	Macedonia
sch1+	neck:chest&back	PF	L	Macedonia
sch1+	neck:chest&back	PF	L	Macedonia
sch1+	neck:chest&back	Ff	L	Macedonia
sch1+	neck:chest&back	F	L	Peloponnese
sch1+	neck:chest&back	na	L	Macedonia
sch1+	neck:chest&back	F	L	Macedonia
sch1+	neck:chest&back	F	L	Macedonia
sch1+	neck:chest&back	na	L	Macedonia
sch1+	neck:chest&back	F	L	Peloponnese
sch1+	neck:chest&back	A	L	Macedonia
sch1+	neck:chest&back	F	L	Macedonia
sch1+	neck:chest&back	A	L	Macedonia
sch1+	neck:chest&back	F	L	Macedonia
sch1+	neck:chest&back	A	L	Macedonia
rd2+	neck	A	F	Macedonia
sch1+	neck:chest&back	Ff	F/E	"South"

rd2+	legs	F	L	Peloponnese

Fig. 70 One-variable, one -tailed χ^2: body decoration motifs according to chronology

Frequencies

Date*

	Observed N	Expected N**	Residual
Early	4	7.0	-3.0
Middle	4	9.2	-5.2
Late	29	15.1	13.9
Final	1	6.7	-5.7
Total	38		

* The Final/EBA phase was not included as it produced null frequency.

** The expected frequencies are based on the number of excavated sites dated according to each broad phase. For instance, as the number of Early sites (28) accounts for 17.5% of all excavated sites (160), we would expect that body decoration motifs dating to the Early phase would also represent 17.5% of the sample (38), i.e. 7.0.

Test Statistics

	Date
Chi-Square(a)	21.717
df	3
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is 6.7.

The χ^2 value of 22, DF=3 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.001. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (once in one thousand). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that body decoration motifs were not preferred equally in all Neolithic phases. The results presented in the frequency table indicate that the majority of such motifs dated to the Late phase, but also that the application of motifs denoting body decoration was more prevalent in the Late phase than in the others.

Fig. 71 One-variable, one -tailed χ^2: attire motifs according to chronology

Frequencies

Date*

	Observed N	Expected N**	Residual
Early	3	20.9	-17.9
Middle	8	27.6	-19.6
Late	102	45.5	56.5
Final	1	20.1	-19.1
Total	114		

* The Final/EBA phase was not included as it produced null frequency.
** The expected frequencies are based on the number of excavated sites dated according to each broad phase. For instance, as the number of Early sites (28) accounts for 17.5% of all excavated sites (160), we would expect that attire motifs dating to the Early phase would also represent 17.5% of the sample (114), i.e. 20.9.

Test Statistics

	Date
Chi-Square(a)	117.695
df	3
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is 20.1.

The χ^2 value of 118, DF=3 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.001. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (once in one thousand). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that attire motifs were not preferred equally in all Neolithic phases. The results presented in the frequency table indicate that the majority of such motifs dated to the Late phase, and that the application of motifs denoting attire was more prevalent in the Late phase than in the others.

Fig. 72 One-variable, one -tailed χ^2: jewellery motifs according to chronology

Frequency

Date

	Observed N	Expected N**	Residual
Early	5	12.5	-7.5
Middle	11	16.5	-5.5
Late	54	27.3	26.7
Final	1	12.1	-11.1
Final/EBA	1	3.6	-2.6
Total	72		

* The expected frequencies are based on the number of excavated sites dated according to each broad phase. For instance, as the number of Early sites (28) accounts for 17.5% of all excavated sites (160), we would expect that jewellery motifs dating to the Early phase would also represent 17.5% of the sample (72), i.e. 12.5.

Test Statistics

	Date
Chi-Square(a)	44.565
df	4
Asymp. Sig.	.000

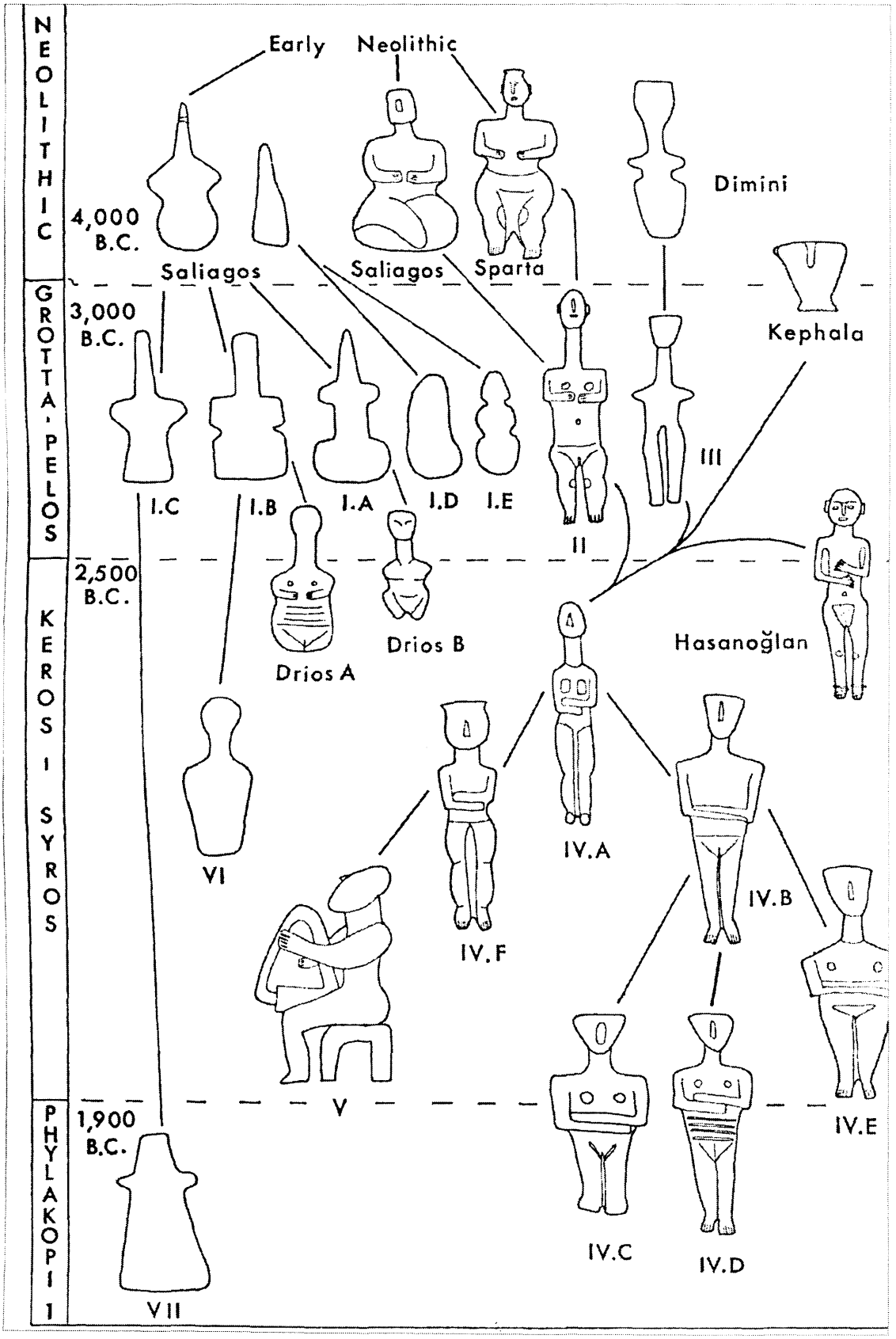
a 1 cells (20.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is 3.6.

The χ^2 value of 44.6, DF=4 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.001. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (once in one thousand). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that jewellery motifs were not preferred equally in all Neolithic phases. The results presented in the frequency table indicate that the majority of such motifs dated to the Late phase, and that the application of motifs denoting jewellery was more prevalent in the Late phase than in the others.

Appendix F

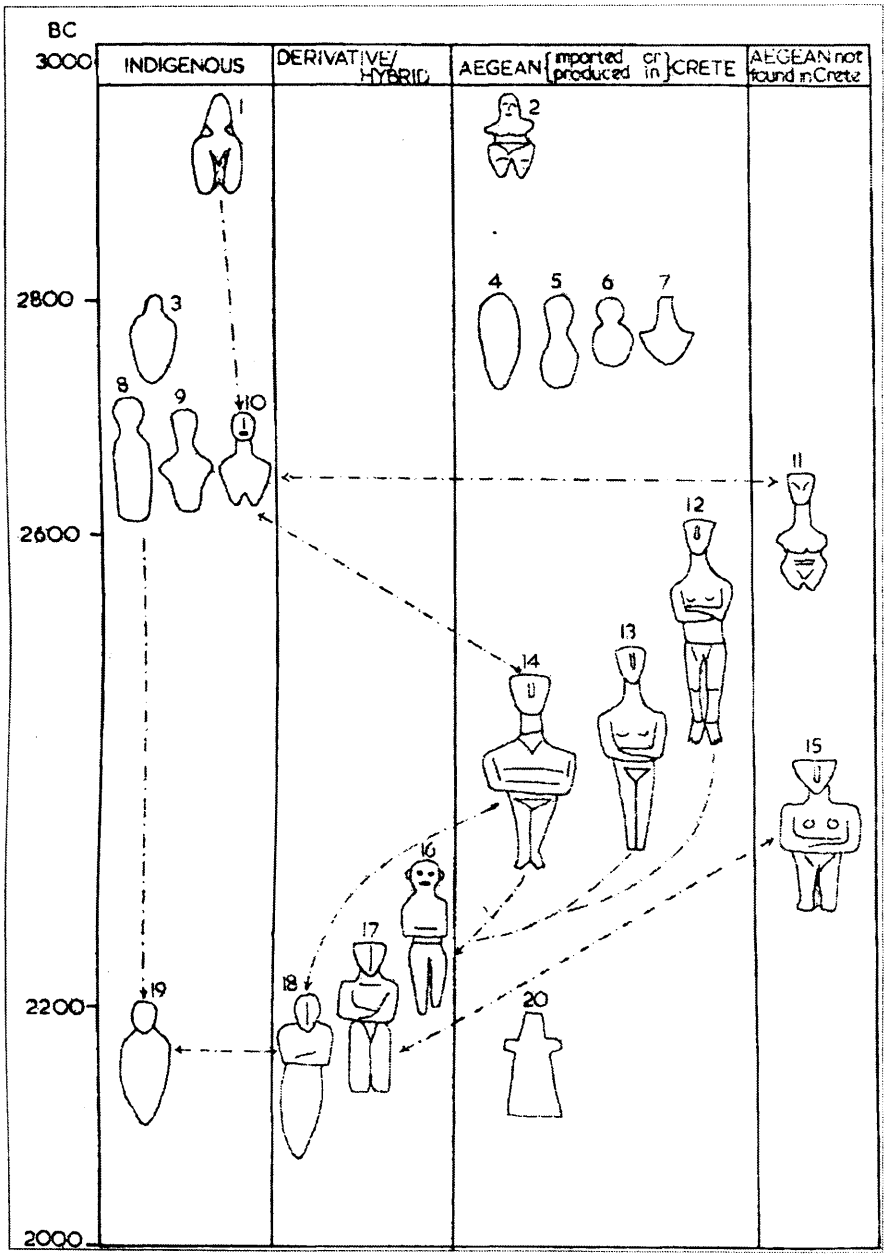
Figurine Typologies

Fig. 1 The typological schema for EC figurines developed by Renfrew in 1969



Source: Renfrew 1969, Ill. 4

Fig. 2 The typological schema for EM figurines developed by Branigan 1971



Source: Branigan 1971, Fig. 2

Key:

1. from Knossos
2. from Central Crete
3. Pyrgos type
4. Pebble type
5, 6. Troy type
7. Spade type
8. Porti type
9. Mallia type
10. Ayios Onouphrios type
11. Drios 'B' type
12. Spedos type
13. Dokathismata type
14. Koumasa type
15. Chalandriani type
16. Siva type
17. Trapeza type
18. Ayia Triada type
19. Giophrakia type
20. Phylakopi I type

Appendix G

Chapter 6: Figures

Fig. 1 One-variable, one-tailed χ^2: period and production of figurines

Frequencies

Period

	Observed N	Expected N*	Residual
Neolithic	1094	1455.8	-361.8
EBA	1240	878.2	361.8
Total	2334		

* The expected frequencies are based on the number of excavated sites per period. For instance, as the number of Neolithic sites (116) accounts for 62.4% of the total of excavated sites for both periods (186), we would expect that the recovered figurines dated to the Neolithic period would also represent 62.4% of the sample after adding half of the excluded EBA figurine corpus (2,334), i.e. 1455.8.

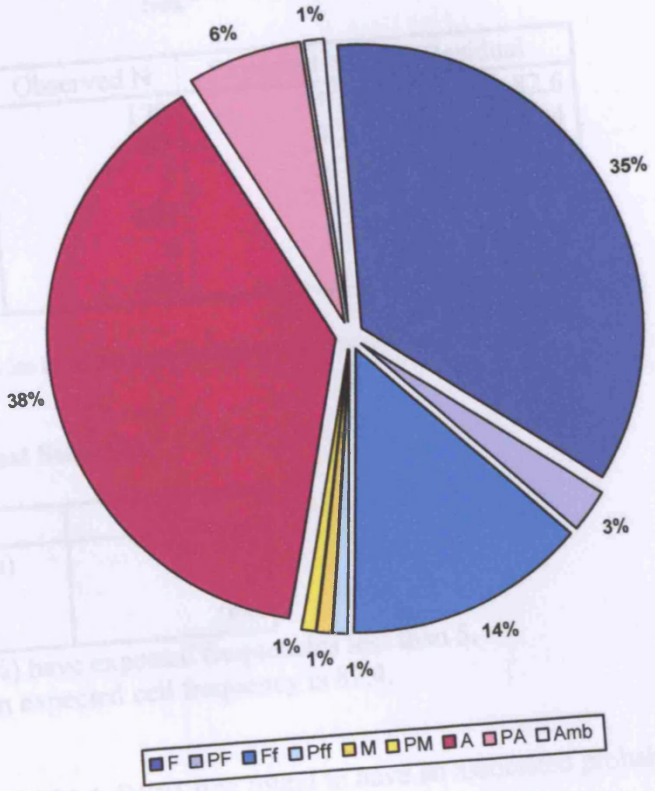
Test Statistics

	Period
Chi-Square(a)	238.988
df	1
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is 625.0.

The χ^2 value of 239, DF=1 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.001. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (once in one thousand). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that both periods have not produced the same number of figurines. The results presented in the frequency table also indicate that the EBA period has produced far more figurines than expected in contrast to the Neolithic period.

Fig. 2 Percentage of 'sex' categories presented in the recorded 'sexed' sample



* The graph excludes the proportion of "na" figurines.

Fig. 3 One-variable, one -tailed χ^2: sex categories

Frequencies

Sex*

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Female	170	87.4	82.6
Female form	67	87.4	-20.4
Male	5	87.4	-82.4
Asexual	189	87.4	101.6
Ambiguous	6	87.4	-81.4
Total	437		

* Probable categories have not been included in this analysis.

Test Statistics

	Sex
Chi-Square(a)	354.430
df	4
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is 87.4.

The χ^2 value of 354.4, DF=4 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.001. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (once in one thousand). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that all sex categories were not preferred equally. The results presented in the frequency table also indicate that Female and Asexual figurines were preferred more than other sex categories.

Fig. 4 $r \times c$ χ^2 test of independence: period and sex categories

Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Period * Sex	1045	100.0%	0	.0%	1045	100.0%

Period * Sex Crosstabulation

			Sex					Total
			Ambiguous	Asexual	Female	Femaleform	Male	
Period	EBA	Count	6	189	170	67	5	437
		Expected Count	5.0	141.8	230.4	50.2	9.6	437.0
		% within Period	1.4%	43.2%	38.9%	15.3%	1.1%	100.0%
		% within Sex	50.0%	55.8%	30.9%	55.8%	21.7%	41.8%
		% of Total	.6%	18.1%	16.3%	6.4%	.5%	41.8%
	Neol.	Count	6	150	381	53	18	608
		Expected Count	7.0	197.2	320.6	69.8	13.4	608.0
		% within Period	1.0%	24.7%	62.7%	8.7%	3.0%	100.0%
		% within Sex	50.0%	44.2%	69.1%	44.2%	78.3%	58.2%
		% of Total	.6%	14.4%	36.5%	5.1%	1.7%	58.2%
Total		Count	12	339	551	120	23	1045
		Expected Count	12.0	339.0	551.0	120.0	23.0	1045.0
		% within Period	1.1%	32.4%	52.7%	11.5%	2.2%	100.0%
		% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	1.1%	32.4%	52.7%	11.5%	2.2%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	68.110(a)	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	68.727	4	.000
N of Valid Cases	1045		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5.
The minimum expected count is 5.02.

Directional Measures(a)

a. ETA statistics are available for numeric data only.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.255	.000
	Cramer's V	.255	.000
N of Valid Cases		1045	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.
b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

A *rxc* χ^2 was carried out to discover whether there was a significant relationship between period and sex categories.

The χ^2 value of 68.11 had an associated probability value of < 0.001, DF=4, showing that such an association is extremely unlikely to have arisen as a result of sampling error. Cramer's V was found to be 0.255 -thus nearly 6.6% of the variation in frequencies of sex categories can be explained by period. It can therefore be concluded that there is a strong association between chronology and sex categories.

Fig. 5 Area breakdown by count of recorded figurines

AREA	TOTAL
Macedonia	8
N. Aegean	4
Thessaly	29
C. Mainland	19
Euboia	17
E. Aegean	65
Peloponnese	18
Cyclades	253
Crete	121
Total	**567**

Fig. 6 List of sites according to area

MACEDONIA	Amphipolis Armenochori Gialatzik Mandalo Servia Tsepikovo
NORTH AEGEAN	Poliochni Skala Sotiros
THESSALY	Pefkakia Sesklo
CENTRAL MAINLAND	Agios Kosmas Aigina Eutresis Lithares Sarakenou Cave Thebes
EUBOIA	Halkida Magoula Manika N. Styra

EAST AEGEAN	Sites
	Emborio
	Thermi
	Tigani
	Island Provenance
	Samos

PELOPONNESE	Corinth
	Kouphovouno
	Lerna
	Tiryns
	Zygouries

CYCLADES	Sites
	Agros Eud. Skopelitou
	Akrotiri (Thera)
	Akrotiri (Naxos)
	Aphentika
	Aplomata
	Avdheli
	Agia Irini
	Fyrages
	Glypha
	Kampos Makris
	Kapros
	Karvounolakoi
	Kastraki
	Kato Poli (Amorgos)
	Koukounaries
	Krasades
	Livadi
	Louros
	Mandres tou Roussou
	Phylakopi
	Plastiras
	Pyrgos
	Roon
	Spedos
	Zoumparia
	Island Provenance
	Amorgos
	Antiparos
	Despotiko
	Ios
	Keros
	Kimolos
	Kouphonesi
	Melos
	Naxos
	Paros
	Seriphos

	Siphnos
	Syros
	Thera
CRETE	Agia Triada
	Agios Onouphrios
	Archanes
	Knossos
	Koumasa
	Lentas
	Myrtos
	Palaikastro
	Platanos
	Porti
	Pyrgos
	Sampa
	Siteia
	Teke
	Trapeza
	Vasiliki Ierapetras
	Zakros

Fig. 7 Percentage of figurines by area

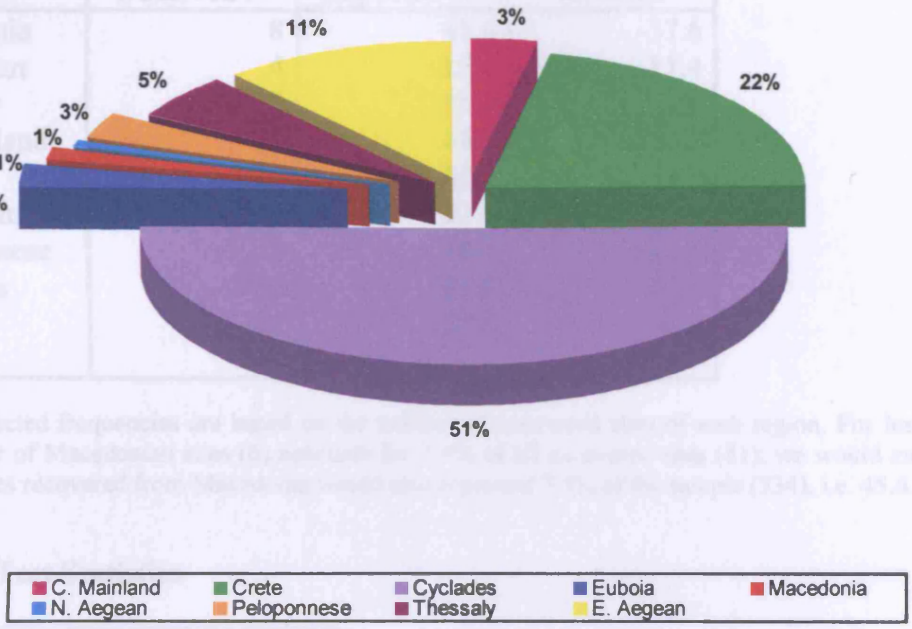


Fig. 8 One-variable, one-tailed χ^2: region and production of figurines

Frequencies

Region

	Observed N	Expected N*	Residual
Macedonia	8	45.6	-37.6
N. Aegean	4	15.4	-11.4
Thessaly	29	15.4	13.6
C. Mainland	19	45.7	-26.7
Euboia	17	30.2	-13.2
E. Aegean	65	22.8	42.2
Peloponnese	18	38.1	-20.1
Cyclades	253	191.2	61.8
Crete	121	129.5	-8.5
Total	534		

* The expected frequencies are based on the number of excavated sites of each region. For instance, as the number of Macedonian sites (6) accounts for 7.4% of all excavated sites (81), we would expect that the figurines recovered from Macedonia would also represent 7.4% of the sample (534), i.e. 45.6.

Test Statistics

	Region
Chi-Square(a)	181.914
df	8
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is 15.4.

The χ^2 value of 181.9, DF=8 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.001. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (once in one thousand). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that not all regions have produced the same number of figurines. The results presented in the frequency table also indicate that the Cyclades, the E. Aegean and Thessaly have produced more figurines than expected given the number of excavated sites.

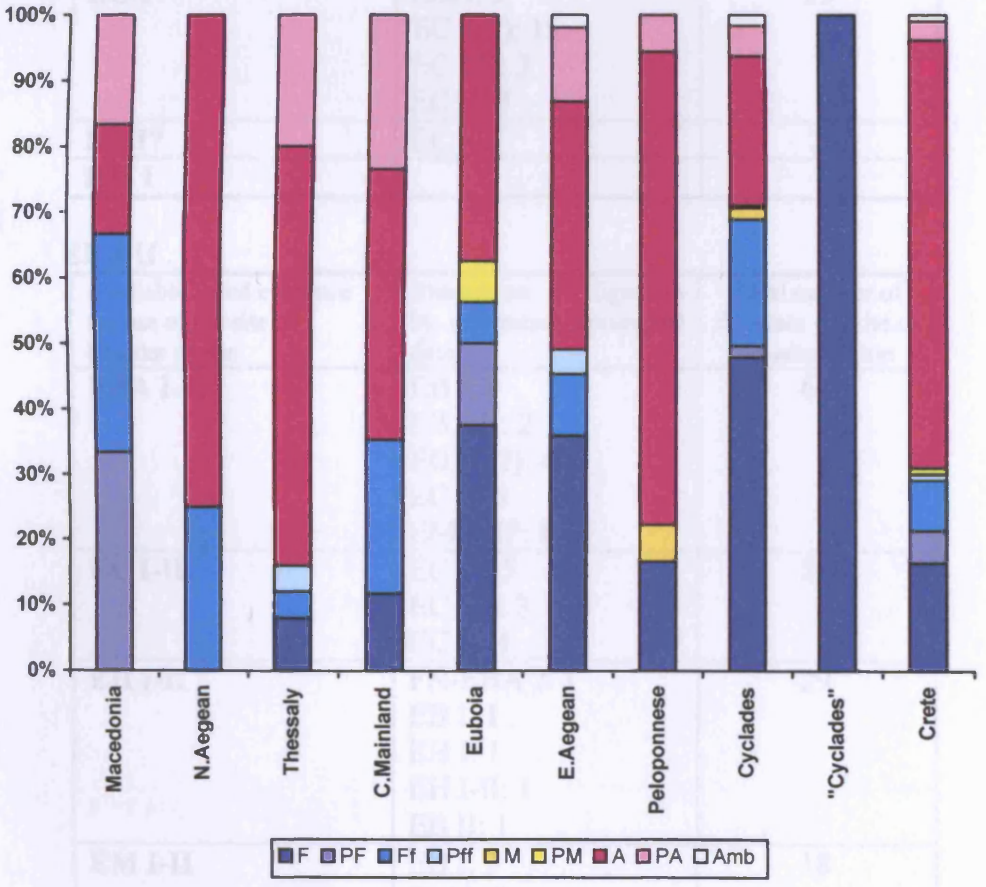
Fig. 9 'Sexed' figurines and their distribution by region

'Sex' Category	AREA	Total
F	Macedonia	-
	N. Aegean	-
	Thessaly	2
	C. Mainland	2
	Euboia	6
	E. Aegean	19
	Peloponnese	3
	Cyclades	114
	Cyclades (said to be)	7
	Crete	17
PF	Macedonia	2
	N. Aegean	-
	Thessaly	-
	C. Mainland	-
	Euboia	2
	E. Aegean	-
	Peloponnese	-
	Cyclades	4
	Cyclades (said to be)	-
	Crete	5
Fform	Macedonia	2
	N. Aegean	1
	Thessaly	1
	C. Mainland	4
	Euboia	1
	E. Aegean	5
	Peloponnese	-
	Cyclades	46
	Cyclades (said to be)	-
	Crete	8
Pfform	Macedonia	-
	N. Aegean	-
	Thessaly	1
	C. Mainland	-
	Euboia	-
	E. Aegean	2
	Peloponnese	-
	Cyclades	-
	Cyclades (said to be)	-
	Crete	1

'Sex' Categories	AREA	Total
M	Macedonia	-
	N. Aegean	-
	Thessaly	-
	C. Mainland	-
	Euboia	-
	E. Aegean	-
	Peloponnese	1
	Cyclades	4
	Cyclades (said to be)	-
	Crete	-
PM	Macedonia	-
	N. Aegean	-
	Thessaly	-
	C. Mainland	-
	Euboia	1
	E. Aegean	-
	Peloponnese	-
	Cyclades	1
	Cyclades (said to be)	-
	Crete	1
A	Macedonia	1
	N. Aegean	3
	Thessaly	16
	C. Mainland	7
	Euboia	6
	E. Aegean	20
	Peloponnese	13
	Cyclades	54
	Cyclades (said to be)	-
	Crete	67
PA	Macedonia	1
	N. Aegean	-
	Thessaly	5
	C. Mainland	4
	Euboia	-
	E. Aegean	6
	Peloponnese	1
	Cyclades	11
	Cyclades (said to be)	-
	Crete	3

'Sex' Categories	AREA	Total
Amb	Macedonia	-
	N. Aegean	-
	Thessaly	-
	C. Mainland	-
	Euboia	-
	E. Aegean	1
	Peloponnese	-
	Cyclades	4
	Cyclades (said to be)	-
	Crete	1

Fig. 10 Percentage of 'sex' categories of 'sexed' figurines *only* according to region



* The category "na" is excluded from the graph.

Fig. 11 Dates for figurines given by contextual or indicated site chronology and typology (when applicable)

General EBA

Available dated evidence for use of the site or broader region	Breakdown of figurines by suggested typological dates	Total number of figurines per site or broader region
EBA (?)	LN?: 1 EC I: 1 EC II: 6 EB II: 7 EM II/III: 2	22
EM	EM I/II: 1 EM II: 1 EM II/III: 2	4

EB I

Available dated evidence for use of the site or broader region	Breakdown of figurines by suggested typological dates	Total number of figurines per site or broader region
EB I	EB I	1
EC I	EBA: 2 EC I (?): 15 EC I/II: 3 EC II: 3	25
EC I?	EC I: 2	2
EM I		1

EB I-II

Available dated evidence for use of the site or broader region	Breakdown of figurines by suggested typological dates	Total number of figurines per site or broader region
EBA I-II	EB I: 4 EB I-II: 2 EB II (?): 48 EC II: 1 EM I/II?: 1	60
EC I-II	EC I: 15 EC I/II: 3 EC II: 4	22
EH I-II	FN-EBA ?: 1 EB I: 1 EH I: 1 EH I-II: 1 EB II: 1	29
EM I-II	EB I: 3 EM I: 8 EM I/II: 2 EM II: 1 EB II: 1 EM II/III: 1	18

EB II

Available dated evidence for use of the site or broader region	Breakdown of figurines by suggested typological dates	Total number of figurines per site or broader region
EC I/II	EC I: 7 EC I/II: 6 EC II: 1	16
EC I/II-II	EC I/II: 1 EC II: 1	2
EB II	EB I: 1	4
EC II	EBA: 1 EC I: 13 EM I/II: 2 EB II: 6 EC II: 86	134
EC II(+LBA) *Refers to Akrotiri (Thera) with disturbed contexts.	EC I: 10 EC II: 5 EC III: 2 EC III?: 3	67
EH II	EB I: 4 EC I/II: 1 EC II: 4 EH II: 1 EH II?: 6 EM II: 1	22
EM II	EB I/II: 1 EM II: 3	7

EB II-III

Available dated evidence for use of the site or broader region	Breakdown of figurines by suggested typological dates	Total number of figurines per site or broader region
EB II-III	EB I: 1	1
EC II-III	EC I: 5 EC I/II: 8 EC II: 30 EC III: 1	45
EH II-III	EB II: 1	1
EM II/III	EM II/III	1
EM II-III	EM II: 2	2
EM II-MM I	EB I: 2 EM I/II: 6 EM II/III: 10 EC III: 1	19
EM II-EM III/MM I	EC II: 10 EM II: 2	12

* In this category I have also included sites with MBA and LBA evidence.

EB III

Available dated evidence for use of the site or broader region	Breakdown of figurines by suggested typological dates	Total number of figurines per site or broader region
EB III	EB I: 2	3
EC III	EC II: 2 EC III : 1	6
EH III	EH III: 2	6
EM III	EC II: 5 EM II: 1	6

Continuous Use

Available dated evidence for use of the site or broader region	Breakdown of figurines by suggested typological dates	Total number of figurines per site or broader region
MN-EH II		1
EB I-III	EB I: 4 EC I/II: 1 EB II: 1 EC II: 3 EB III: 1	13
EH I-III	EH III: 3	3
EM I-III	EC I/II: 1 EM II: 6	7
EM -LM	EC I: 1 EM I/II: 3	4
FN-EM I, EM II-MM I	EC I: 1	1
EM I-MM I	EM I: 1 EM II: 2	3
EM I-MM I/II	EM II: 2 EM II/III: 9	11
EM I-MM II	EM II: 7 EM II/III: 5	13
EBA-MBA?		1

MBA

Available dated evidence for use of the site or broader region	Breakdown of figurines by suggested typological dates	Total number of figurines per site or broader region
MM I	EM I/II: 1	2
MM IA?	EC II:1	1
MM I-III	EM II: 1	1
MM I-III?	EC II: 1	1

LBA and later

Available dated evidence for use of the site or broader region	Breakdown of figurines by suggested typological dates	Total number of figurines per site or broader region
LM	EB I: 1	1
Mycenean	EC I/II: 1 EC II: 2	3
Geometric	EC II/III: 1	1

No available contextual dates

Available dated evidence for use of the site or broader region	Breakdown of figurines by suggested typological dates	Total number of figurines per site or broader region
None	EC I/II: 1 EC II: 7	8

Fig. 12 Figurines according to contextual or available site chronology by region

MACEDONIA

Broad dates	Available dates	Total no. of figurines
EBA	EBA	3
I-II	EB I-II	3
II	EB II	1

N. AEGEAN

Broad dates	Available dates	Total no. of figurines
II-III	EB II-III	1
III	EB III	2
Cont.	EB I-III	1

THESSALY

Broad dates	Available dates	Total no. of figurines
EBA	EBA ?	1
I-II	EH I-II	28

C. MAINLAND

Broad dates	Available dates	Total no. of figurines
EBA	EBA	2
I-II	EH I-II	1
II	EH II	14
II-III	EH II-III	1
III	EH III	1

EUBOIA

Broad dates	Available dates	Total no. of figurines
EBA	EBA	8
II	EB II	1
Cont.	EB I-III	7
	Nk	1

E. AEGEAN

Broad dates	Available dates	Total no. of figurines
I	EB I	1
I-II	EB I-II	57
II	EB II	2
Cont.	EB I-III	5

PELOPONNESE

Broad dates	Available dates	Total no. of figurines
EBA	EBA	1
II	EH II	8
III	EH III	5
Cont.	MN-EH II	1
	EH I-III	3

CYCLADES

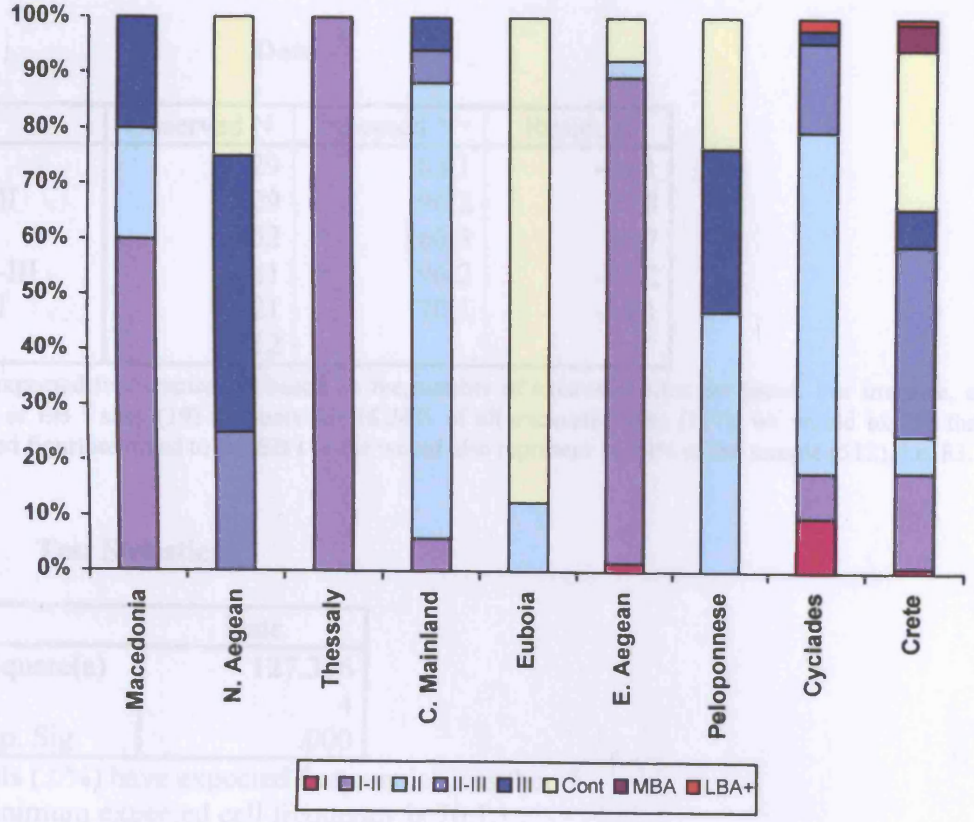
Broad dates	Available dates	Total no. of figurines
EBA	EBA	3
I	EC I (?)	27
I-II	EC I-II	22
II	EC I	168
	EC I/II	
	EC I/II-II	
	EC II	
	EC II(+LBA)	

II-III	EC I EC II EC II-III	44
III	EC III	6
MBA & later	Mycenean Geometric nk	3 1 2

CRETE

Broad dates	Available dates	Total no. of figurines
EBA	EBA EM	2 4
I	EM I	1
I-II	EM I-II	18
II	EM II	7
II-III	EM II-III EM II-III/MM I EM II-MM I EM II-MM I/II EM II-MM II	2 12 18 2 2
III	EM III EM III-MM I	6 1
Cont.	EM I-MM I/II EM I-MM II EM I-LM FN-EM I, EM II-MM I EBA-MBA?	11 13 4 1 1
MBA	MM I MM IA? MM I-III MM I-III?	2 1 1 1
LBA	LM	1

Fig. 13 Percentage of figurines according to broad chronology and region



* Excludes figurines of general EBA and "not known" (nk) chronology.

Fig. 14 One-variable, one-tailed χ^2: broad date and production of figurines

Frequencies

Date

	Observed N	Expected N*	Residual
EB I	29	83.1	-54.1
EB I-II	129	96.2	32.8
EB II	252	166.3	85.7
EB II-III	81	96.2	-15.2
EB III	21	70.1	-49.1
Total	512		

* The expected frequencies are based on the number of excavated sites per phase. For instance, as the number of EB I sites (19) accounts for 16.24% of all excavated sites (117), we would expect that the recovered figurines dated to the EB I phase would also represent 16.24% of the sample (512), i.e. 83.1.

Test Statistics

	Date
Chi-Square(a)	127.336
df	4
Asymp. Sig.	.000

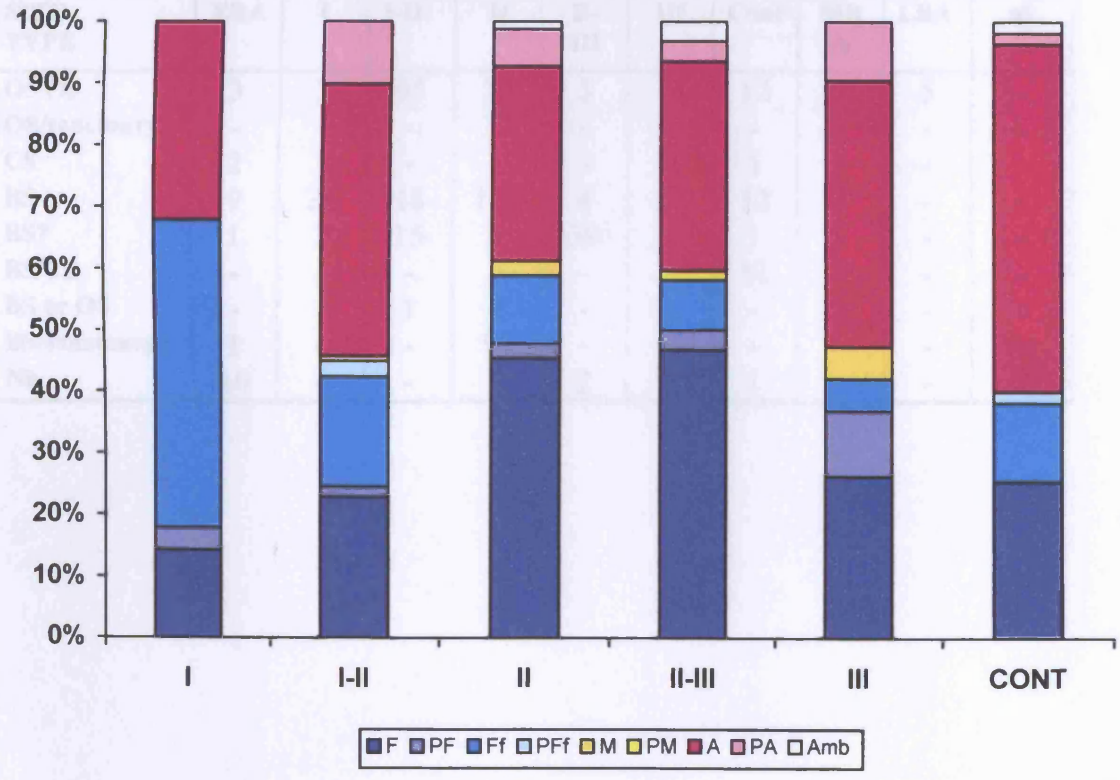
a 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is 70.1.

The χ^2 value of 127.3, DF=4 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.001. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (once in one thousand). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that not all EBA phases have produced the same number of figurines. The results presented in the frequency table also indicate that the EB II phase has produced more figurines than expected in contrast to other phases.

Fig. 15 'Sexed' figurines according to broad chronological periods

	EBA	I	I-II	II	II-III	III	CONT	MBA	LBA
F	7	4	27	75	29	5	14	1	-
PF	2	1	2	4	2	2	-	-	-
Ff	2	14	21	18	5	1	7	-	-
Pff	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	-
M	-	-	1	4	-	1	-	-	-
PM	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-
A	9	9	52	52	21	9	32	1	2
PA	3	-	12	10	2	2	1	-	1
Amb	-	-	-	2	2	-	1	-	-
Total	**24**	**28**	**118**	**165**	**62**	**20**	**56**	**3**	**3**

Fig. 16 Percentage of 'sex' categories of 'sexed' figurines *only* by broad chronological period



*Excludes EBA, MBA, LBA.

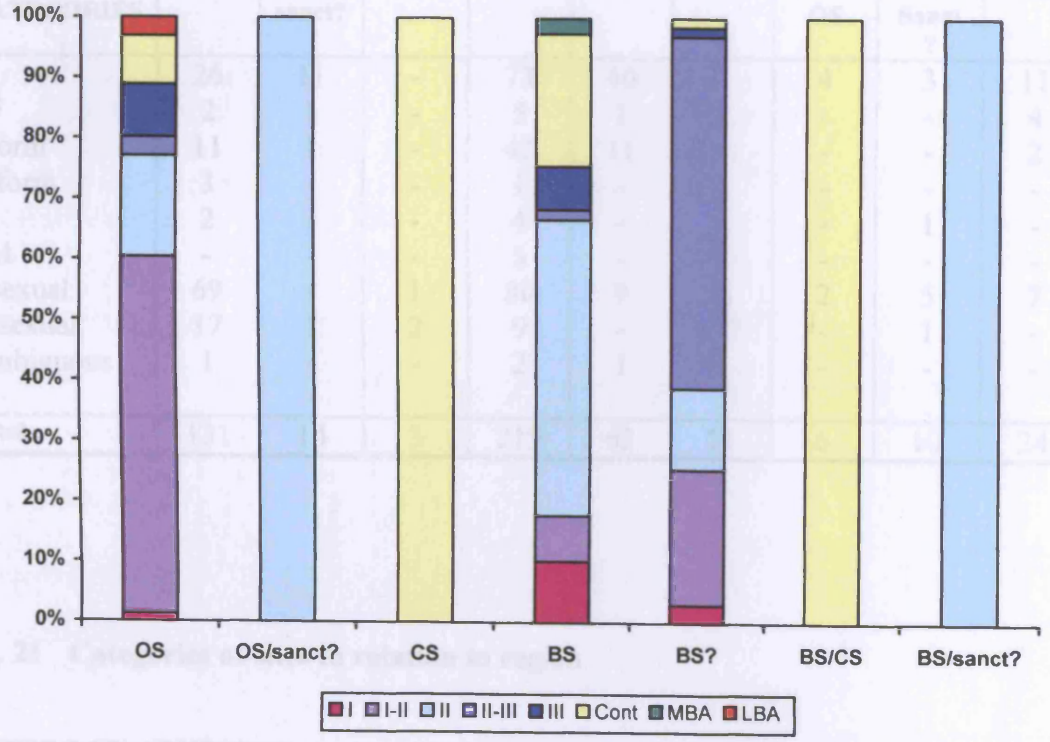
Fig. 17 Categories of sites and number of figurines recovered

SITE TYPE	Total
OS	226
OS?	2
OS/sanctuary?	31
CS	2
BS	210
BS (said to be)	68
BS/CS	13
BS or OS	6
BS/sanctuary?	15
Nk	25

Fig. 18 Categories of sites and number of recovered figurines according to broad chronology

SITE TYPE	EBA	I	I-II	II	II-III	III	Cont	MBA	LBA	nk
OS (?)	3	3	95	25	5	14	12	-	5	-
OS/sanctuary?	-	-	-	31	-	-	-	-	-	-
CS	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
BS	9	24	18	116	4	17	52	6	-	-
BS?	1	2	15	9	39	1	1	-	-	-
BS/CS	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	-	-	-
BS or OS	-	-	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
BS/sanctuary?	1	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nk	10	-	-	4	2	2	1	-	-	7

Fig. 19 Percentage of dated figurines according to category of site



* Figurines identified as general EBA and those with no known (nk) date and site-type (bs or os) are not included.

Fig. 20 'Sexed' figurines and their distribution according to site category

'SEX' CATEGORIES	OS (?)	OS/ sanct?	CS	BS	BS?	BS/CS	BS or OS	BS/ Sanct ?	Nk
F	26	11	-	73	40	-	4	3	11
PF	2	1	-	5	1	-	-	-	4
Fform	11	1	-	42	11	-	-	-	2
Pfform	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
M	2	-	-	4	-	-	-	1	-
PM	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Asexual	69	-	1	80	9	11	2	5	7
Pasexual	17	1	2	9	-	-	-	1	-
Ambiguous	1	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-
Total	131	14	3	219	62	11	6	10	24

Fig. 21 Categories of sites in relation to region

REGION	OS (?)	OS/ sanct?	CS	BS	BS?	BS/CS	BS/ Sanct?
Macedonia	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
N. Aegean	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Thessaly	29	-	-	-	-	-	-
C.Mainland	10	-	2	7	-	-	-
Euboia	1	-	-	13	-	-	-
E. Aegean	65	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peloponnese	18	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cyclades	16	31	-	145	66	-	14
Crete	13	-	-	81	1	13	1
Total	162	31	2	246	67	13	15

Fig. 22 Context of recovered figurines according to region

[excludes context categories "disturbed", "mixed", "find", "surface", "unstratified", "nk" and chronology date "nk)]

Key: Mc=Macedonia
NA=N. Aegean
Th=Thessaly
CM=C. Mainland
Eu=Euboia
EA=E. Aegean
Pel=Peloponnese
Cy=Cyclades
Cr=Crete

A. DOMESTIC/HABITATION

CONTEXT	Mc	NA	Th	CM	Eu	EA	Pel	Cy	Cr	Σ
House, Structure	-	-	3	3	-	8	8	3	-	25
HS[1], domestic (?)	2	-	22	3	1	37	7	26	3	102
House:room (?)	-	1	-	3	-	2	-	-	1	7
Pit	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	4	6
Structure:curation ?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Curation:possible	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	7
Refuse area	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	1	6
Wall	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total	3	4	25	9	1	53	16	33	10	155

* The question-mark indicates the inclusion also of possible such contexts.

[1] Includes disturbed, post-depositional, possible curation contexts, as well as strata of os/sanctuary? site type (A. Irini).

B. FUNERARY

CONTEXT	Mc	NA	Th	CM	Eu	EA	Pel	Cy	Cr	Σ
Burial (?)	-	-	-	7	12	-	-	92	82	195
Burial area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	2	7
Burial area/pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3
Cemetery (?)	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	82	10	94
Total	-	-	-	7	14	-	-	182	94	299

* The question-mark indicates the inclusion also of possible such contexts.

C. RITUAL

CONTEXT	Mc	NA	Th	CM	Eu	EA	Pel	Cy	Cr	Σ
Ritual:possible	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1

Fig. 23 Context of recovered figurines according to broad chronology

[the category "nk" (not known) for chronology is not included]

A. DOMESTIC/HABITATION

CONTEXT	EBA (?)	I (?)	I-II	II	II-III	III	CONT	MBA	LBA
House, Structure	-	-	12	10	-	-	3	-	-
HS[1], domestic (?)	3	1	34	30	-	4	7	-	-
House: room (?)	-	-	3	2	2	-	-	-	-
Pit	-	-	4	-	-	1	-	-	1
Structure: Curation	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Curation	1	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	2
Refuse area	-	-	5	1	-	-	-	-	-
Wall	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	4	1	58	46	2	7	11	-	3

* The question-mark indicates the inclusion also of possible such contexts.

[1] Includes disturbed, post-depositional, possible curation contexts, as well as strata of os/sanctuary? Site type (A. Irini).

B. FUNERARY

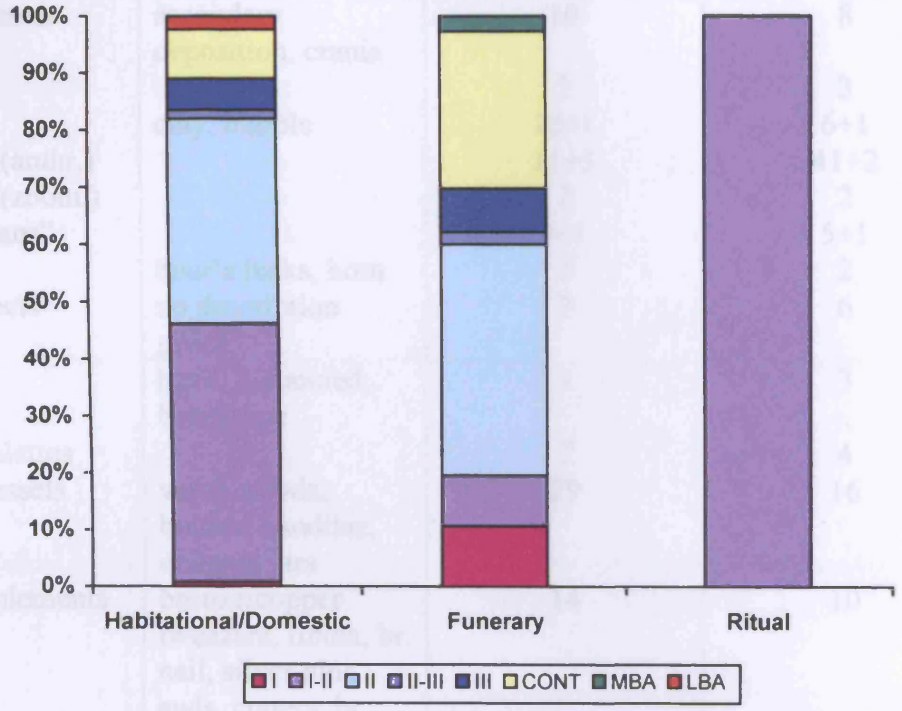
CONTEXT	EBA (?)	I (?)	I-II	II	II-III	III	CONT	MBA	LBA
Burial (?)	10	22	18	71	3	17	53	4	-
Burial area	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Burial area/pit	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Cemetery (?)	1	2	2	18	2	-	7	2	-
TOTAL	11	24	20	91	5	17	62	6	-

* The question-mark indicates the inclusion also of possible such contexts.

C. RITUAL

CONTEXT	EBA (?)	I (?)	I-II	II	II-III	III	CONT	MBA	LBA
Ritual	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-

Fig. 24 Percentage of dated figurines according to type of recovery context



* The general category "EBA" and "Nk" (not known) are excluded.
**The results are based on the data presented in Fig. 18.

Fig. 25 Figurines and other finds: *in-situ* association

General Categories	Description of finds	Number of figurines	Number of occurrences
Bones, human	secondary deposition, crania	10	8
Crystal		3	3
Cups	clay, marble	10+1	6+1
Figurines (anthr.)		81+3	41+2
Figurines (zoom.)		2	2
"Frying-pans"		9+1	5+1
Horns	boar's tusks, horn	2	2
Ivory objects	no description given	7	6
Lamps	hand, 3-spouted, bowl-type	3	3
Marble palettes		7	4
Marble vessels	vases, bowls, bottles, kandilae, collared jars	29	16
Metal implements	bronze/copper tweezers, fibula, br. nail, silver pins, awls, cutters, br. needle	14	10
Metal tools	spatula, knife, drills, blade, chisel	12	5
Metal vessels	silver plate, silver bowl	5	1
Metal weapons	dagger, knives	6	3
Obsidian	core, blades	38+1	22+1
Ochre	fragment	-	-
Organic remains	sea-shells, oyster shells, fish-bones	9	7
Ornaments	bone/ivory/gold amulets, br/silver/stone beads, silver torque, lead bracelets, gld frgms, ivory earring, gold leaves, perf. silver discs, perf. sea shells, rings	37+3	20+3
Pebbles	coloured (blue), not coloured	4	2
Pottery		31+3	21+3
Pottery, fine		24	17
Pottery, coarse		4	4
Pyxides		25+1	13+1

Sauceboats		2	2
Seals		1	1
Spinning and weaving equipment	whorls/discs	3	3
Stands		2	2
Stone vessels	bowls, bottle-shaped	3	3
Tools:stone/bone	mace-head, palette, querns, grinders, bone tubes, stone pestles, pounders, basalt axes, whetstone	22+1	14+1
Weapons: non-metal		-	-

Fig. 26 Selected finds and their associations with figurines from unplundered burials (single storey, single burials) in the Cyclades and Euboia

General categories of grave goods	**Without figurines** (from Doumas)	**With figurines** (Doumas & Euboian burials)
Stone/marble vessels	23	3
Palettes: marble, stone	8	4
"Frying-pans"	13	6
Cups	2	7
Obsidian	18	23
Metal Blades	3	3
Tweezers	1	2
Metal implements	15	8
Ornaments	26	23
Weaving equipment	3	-

* The information on the Cyclades is contained in Doumas 1977 and that concerning Euboia in Sampson 1988.

Fig.27 Figurines and other finds: association by stratigraphic layer

General Categories	Description of finds	Number of figurines	Number of occurrences
Bones, human	secondary deposition, crania	-	-
Crystal		-	-
Cups	clay, marble	1	
Figurines, Anthr.		21	7
Figurines, Animal		-	-
"Frying-pans"		1	1
Horns	boar's tusks, horn	1	1
Ivory objects	no description given	-	-
Lambs	hand, 3-spouted, bowl-type	-	-
Marble palettes		-	-
Marble vessels	vases, bowls, bottles, kandilae, collared jars	-	-
Metal implements	bronze/copper tweezers, fibula, br. nail, silver pins, awls, cutters, br. needle	7	6
Metal tools	spatula, knife, drills, blade, chisel	2	2
Metal vessels	silver plate, silver bowl	-	-
Metal weapons	dagger, knives	4	3
Obsidian	core, blades	6	6
Ochre	fragment	1	1
Organic remains	sea-shells, oyster shells, fish-bones	1	1
Ornaments	bone/ivory/gold amulets, br/silver/stone beads, silver torque, lead bracelets, gld frgms, ivory earring, gold leaves, perf. silver discs, perf. sea shells, rings	18	4
Pebbles	coloured (blue), not coloured	-	-
Pottery		10	9
Pottery, fine		16	5
Pottery, coarse		2	2

Pyxides		3	3
Sauceboats		2	1
Seals		13	3
Spinning and weaving equipment	whorls/discs	6	5
Stands		2	1
Stone vessels	bowls, bottle-shaped	1	1
Tools:stone/bone	mace-head, palette, querns, grinders, bone tubes, stone pestles, pounders, basalt axes, whetstone	4	4
Weapons: non-metal		-	-

Fig. 28 Features associated with figurines: *in-situ* and by stratigraphic layer

Features	Direct association	Association by stratigraphic layer
Bench	1	-
Burial structure(s)	-	9
2nd burial	2	-
Grave	2	-
Hearth	1	3
Pit	2	1
Larnaka	-	12

Fig. 29 'Sexed' figurines in relation to their context of recovery
(excludes category "na")

A. DOMESTIC/HABITATION

CONTEXT	F	PF	Ff	Pff	M	PM	A	PA	Amb
House, Structure	4	-	-	-	-	-	11	5	-
Hs[1], domestic (?)	26	1	5	2	-	-	40	8	-
House: room (?)	2	-	1	-	-	-	4	-	-
Pit	3	-	1	-	-	-	3	2	-
Structure: Curation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Curation	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	-	-
Refuse area	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	1
Wall	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	36	1	8	3	-	-	62	16	1

* The question-mark indicates the inclusion also of possible such contexts.

[1] Includes disturbed, post-depositional, possible curation contexts, as well as strata of os/sanctuary? site type (A. Irini).

B. FUNERARY

CONTEXT	F	PF	Ff	Pff	M	PM	A	PA	Amb
Burial (?)	51	5	33	1	3	2	73	4	-
Burial area	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
Burial area/pit	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cemetery (?)	53	1	14	-	-	1	14	-	2
TOTAL	106	6	48	1	3	3	88	4	2

* The question-mark indicates the inclusion also of possible such contexts.

C. RITUAL

CONTEXT	F	PF	Ff	Pff	M	PM	A	PA	Amb
Ritual	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Fig. 30 'Sexed' figurines and associated finds

General Categories	F	PF	Ff	PFf	M	PM	A	PA	Amb
Bones, human	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
Crystal	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Cups	7	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Figurines, Anthr.	26	3	10	-	1	2	24	4	-
Figurines, Animal	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
"Frying-pans"	2	1	1	-	-	-	5	-	-
Ivory objects	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lamb	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Marble palette	5	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
Marble vessels	16	1	6	-	1	-	4	-	-
Metal utensils	3	1	1	-	5	-	-	-	-
Metal tools	4	2	1	-	-	-	4	-	-
Metal vessels	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
Metal weapons	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-
Obsidian	10	1	2	-	-	-	9	1	-
Organic remains	2	-	3	-	-	-	2	1	-
Ornaments	8	2	3	-	1		12	-	-
Pebbles	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Pottery	8	2	3	-	-	1	11	1	-
Pottery, fine	9	1	3	-	-	-	9	-	-
Pottery, coarse	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pyxides	13	1	3	-	1	-	7	-	-
Sauceboats	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spinning and weaving equipment	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
Stands	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stone vessels	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Tools:stone/bone	8	1	2	-	-	-	7	1	-

Fig. 31 'Sexed' figurines and associated features

Features	F	PF	Ff	Pff	M	PM	A	PA	Amb
Bench	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Burial structure(s)	3	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	1
2nd burial	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grave	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hearth	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Pit	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Larnaca	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	1	-

Fig. 32 Available anthropologically sexed and aged skeletal evidence from EBA Aegean burial sites

Burial site	Grave Number	Sex	Age
Manika, Euboia	2	M	adult
	3?	M	adult
	14?	M	adult
	28?	M	adult
	31	M	adult
	34?	M	adult
	44	M	adult
	45?	M	adult
	47?	M	adult
	56?	M	adult
	58	M	adult
	67	M	adult
	68	M	adult
	70	M	adult
	80	M	child
	87	M	adult
	95	M	adult
	102	M	adult
	105	M	adult
	110	M	adult
	123	M	adult
	13	F	adult
	22?	F	adult
	32	F	adult
	35	F	adult
	37	F	adult
	38	F	adult
	41?	F	adult
	51	F	adult
	55	F	child
	57?	F	adult
	60	F	adult
	62	F	adult
	63	F	adult
	69	F	young
	77?	F	adult
	78	F	adult
	79	F	adult
	82	F	adult
	84	F	adult
	103	F	adult
	113	F	adult
	115	F	adult
	120	F	adult

Burial site	Grave Number	Sex	Age
Manika, Euboia	121	F	adult
	126	F	adult
	134	F	child
	147	F	adult
	150	F	adult
	4	M+F	adults
	25	M+F	adult+child
	39	M+F	adult+child
	54	M+F	adult+young
	61	M+F	adult+young
	65	M+F	adults
	71	M+F	adults
	83	M+F	adults
	100	M+F	adults
	30	?	young
	69	?	young
	6?	?	child
	16	?	child
	25	?	child
	36	?	child
	40	?	child
	43	?	child
	48?	?	child
	49	?	child
	55	?	child
	64	?	child
	73	?	child
	75?	?	child
	81	?	child
	104	?	child
	128	?	child
Aghios Kosmas, Attica	2	F	25
	2	M	38
	2	M	17
	2	M	33
	8	F	36
	2	M	27?
	2	M	43?
	2	M	38?
	2	M	36?
	3	F	25?
	3	M	49
	3	F	26
	5	F	30
	4	M	39
	4	M	26
	8	F	29
	2	M	33

Burial site	Grave Number	Sex	Age
Aghios Kosmas	20	M	28
	20	F	30
	28	M	29
	28	M?	42
	28	M	25
	28	F	26
	28	M	44
	22	M	27
	22	F	34
Phourni, Crete: Burial Building 19	114	M	adult
	one of skel. 190-3	M	adult
	159	M	adult
	188	M	adult
	141	F	adult
	168	F	adult
	36	?	juvenile
	174	F	child
	127	?	infant?
	128	F	infant?
	140	?	infant?
	142	?	infant?
	143	?	infant?
	144	?	infant?
Zoumbaria, Cyclades	5	F	-
	10	M	-
Antiparos, Cyclades	114	M	-

Sources: Sampson 1988; Mylonas 1959 (Table 1); Maggidis 1998; Bossert & Erhardt 1965, 117-24 (see Doumas 1977).

Fig. 33 Grave goods in association with anthropologically sexed and aged skeletons from Manika Cemetery
(The grave goods presented here follow the general categories presented by Sampson 1988)

	Grave No.	Figurine-s	Frying-Pan(s)	Cups	Colour palettes	Bone tube	Stone objects	Spinning equipm.	Bronze objects	Silver objects	Jewellery
Male burials	2	•	•		•						
?	3		•								
?	14		•								
?	28								•	•	?
?	34		•								
	44		•								
?	45		•								
?	47		•								
	58		•								
	67								•		?
	70			•				•	•		?
	78							•			
	87		•		•		•		•		?
	95		•		•						
	102		•								
	105		•								
	110					•			•		?
Female burials	37								•		?
	38					•					
	51				•						
	62					•					

	Grave No.	Figurine-s	Frying-Pan(s)	Cups	Colour palettes	Bone tube	Stone objects	Spinning eq.	Bronze objects	Silver objects	Jewellery
	63					•					
	69*			•							
	78				•				•		?
	82	•				•					
	103								•		
	134**							•	•	•	•
	150								•		•
M + F burials	4		•							•	
	39**		•		•						
	54**					•					
	61**						•		•		
	65			•		•					
	71			•		•		•	•	•	?
	84		•								
	100		•		•		•	•			
Child	43			•							
	81	•	•						•		

* Young individual
** Child burial

Fig. 34 Grave goods in association with anthropologically sexed and aged skeletons of multiple burials from Aghios Kosmas Cemetery

	Grave No.	Figu-rine(s)	Cup(s)	Fine pottery	Coarse pottery	Pyxis	Obs. blades	Twee-zers	Zoom. stand
Male skel.	4*								
Female skel.	5	•		•	•				•
	8	•	•	•		•			
M + F	2*								
	3			•			•	•	
	20*								
	22*								
	28*								

* No grave goods contained.
Source: Mylonas, G, 1959

Fig. 35 Grave goods in association with anthropologically sexed and aged skeletons of multiple burials from Phourni Cemetery (Burial Building 19)

	Skull No.	Cup(s)	Coarse Pott.	Toys	Beads Pend.	Neck-lace	Ring	Metal sheet	Obsi-dian	Stone vase
Male skel.	114	•	•		•				•	
	One of Sk. 190-3		•						•	
	159		•						•	
	188		•					•	•	
Fem. Skel.	141	•	•			•				
	168	•	•				•			•
Juve-nile	36?			•						
Child	174♀		•				•			
Infant	127 ?		•							
	128		•				•			
	140 ?									
	142 ?		•			•				
	143 ?									
	144 ?					•				

* The question-mark indicates possible juvenile and infant skeletons.
Source: Maggidis 1998, Fig. 6.5

Fig. 36 Summarised grave goods associated with sexed burials according to overall patterns as suggested in the literature

	Male	Female	Children
Manika, Euboia	jug vessels	pottery	
	frying-pans	pyxides	
	knives	jug vessels	
		cups	
		colour palettes	
		bone tubes	
		spindle whorls	
		small knives	
Phourni, Crete	jewellery	cooking pots	pottery
	obsidian blades	jewellery	cups
	metal band	trays	jewellery
			toy

Source: Commentary on gender-related grave goods from Manika by Sampson 1988, 58 and Phourni by Maggidis 1998, 91.

Fig. 37 Cycladic graves containing figurines in association with other grave goods
(see app. G, Fig.3 under *Cyclades* for full names of the abbreviated sites or islands)

Key: **pt**=pottery, general **pf**=pottery, fine **c**=cup **px**=pyxis **fp**=frying-pan **sc**=saucepan
sv=stone vessel **mv**=marble vessel **p**=marble palette **bt**=bone tube **fa**=figurine(s), anthropomorphic (other)
tl=tools, grinding-pounding **ob**=obsidian blades **mt**=metal vessel **ms**=metal spatula **md**=metal drill
mp=metal pin **mn**=metal needle **f**=fibula **nl**=nail **sw**=sword **jw**=jewellery

Site	Tomb	Date	pt	pf	c	px	fp	sc	sv	mv	p	bt	fa	tl	ob	mt	ms	md	mp	mn	fb	nl	sw	jw
A. E. Skopel.		M								•			•											
A. E. Skopel.		M								•			•											
Akrotiri	20	M											•											•
Akrotiri	5	M				•				•	•		•											•
Amorg.		M-L											•											
Antip.		E											•											
Antip.		E											•											•
Antip.		E											•											
Aplom.		M				•			•	•			•											•
Aplom.	IV	M				•				•			•											
Aplom.	XIII	M				•							•											
Aplom.	XVII	M			•	•				•			•	•	•									
Aplom.	XXIII	M											•											
Aplom.	XXVII	M			•	•				•			•	•	•									
Avdheli	1	M											•		•				•					
Fyrag.	28	M		•																				
Glypha	21	M								•			•	•										
Glypha	24	M								•														

Site	Tomb	Date	pt	pf	c	px	fp	sc	sv	mv	p	bt	fa	tl	ob	mt	ms	md	mp	mn	fb	sw	jw
K. Makris	35	E											•										
K. Makris	36	E				•																	
Kapros	D?	M											•			•							•
Krass.	112	E								•													
Krass.	115	E											•										•
Krass.	117	E								•			•										
Louros	26	M		•		•	•			•			•	•	•			•					•
Plast.	9	M								•			•	•	•					•			
Pyrgos	100	M				•					•		•										
Pyrgos	103	M											•										•
Spedos	10	M		•						•	•		•	•	•								
Spedos	12	M		•						•													
Spedos	16	M											•		•							•	
Syros	415	M				•																	
Syros	468	M		•								•		•				•		•	•	•	•
"Syros"		M		•	•	•				•			•				•						
"Thera"		M-L			•								•										
"Thera"		M-L			•								•										
Zoump.	137	E											•										

Fig. 38 Cretan burials containing figurines in direct association with other grave goods after Branigan 1988

Key:

p=pottery
fa=figurine(s), anthropomorphic (other)
tl=tools, grinding-pounding
ob=obsidian blades
mp=metal pin
mn=metal needles
fb=fibula
dg=dagger
jw=jewellery
sl=seal
wh=whorls

Site	Tomb	Date	p	fa	tl	ob	mp	mn	fb	dg	jw	sl	wh
Archanes	9, 1b	CONT		•									
Archanes	burial area	MBA	•	•	•	•					•		
Archanes	burial area	MBA		•									
Archanes	burial area	CONT	•								•		
Archanes	F:10	L				•					•		
Archanes	F:4	L	•	•		•		•			•		
Archanes	F:6	L		•	•	•			•		•		
Archanes	F:7	L				•					•		
Archanes	Gamma	L				•		•					
Archanes	Gamma	L			•	•					•		
Archanes	Gamma	L											
Archanes	Gamma	L		•		•					•		
Archanes	Gamma	L				•					•		•
Archanes	Gamma: jiota	L		•		•					•		
Archanes	Gamma: Gamma	L									•		
Archanes	Gamma	MBA		•		•	•			•	•		
Pyrgos	burial area	E-M		•									

Fig. 39 Material according to region

CLAY

Region	Total
Macedonia	6
N. Aegean	1
Thessaly	24
Central Mainland	4
Euboia	-
E. Aegean	56
Peloponnese	17
Cyclades	-
Cyclades (said to be)	-
Crete	10
TOTAL	**118**

MARBLE

Region	Total
Macedonia	-
N. Aegean	-
Thessaly	5
Central Mainland	8
Euboia	13
E. Aegean	7
Peloponnese	1
Cyclades	266
Cyclades (said to be)	7
Crete	32
TOTAL	**339**

STONE (other)

Region	Total
Macedonia	2
N. Aegean	-
Thessaly	-
Central Mainland	6
Euboia	3
E. Aegean	1
Peloponnese	-
Cyclades	8
Cyclades (said to be)	-
Crete	52
TOTAL	**72**

ALABASTER

Region	Total
Macedonia	-
N. Aegean	-
Thessaly	-
Central Mainland	-
Euboia	-
E. Aegean	-
Peloponnese	-
Cyclades	-
Cyclades (said to be)	-
Crete	5
TOTAL	**5**

CRYSTAL

Region	Total
Macedonia	-
N. Aegean	-
Thessaly	-
Central Mainland	-
Euboia	-
E. Aegean	-
Peloponnese	-
Cyclades	-
Cyclades (said to be)	-
Crete	5
TOTAL	**5**

BONE

Region	Total
Macedonia	-
N. Aegean	3
Thessaly	-
Central Mainland	1
Euboia	1
E. Aegean	-
Peloponnese	-
Cyclades	-
Cyclades (said to be)	-
Crete	5
TOTAL	**10**

BONE (or IVORY)

Region	Total
Macedonia	-
N. Aegean	-
Thessaly	-
Central Mainland	-
Euboia	-
E. Aegean	-
Peloponnese	-
Cyclades	-
Cyclades (said to be)	-
Crete	5
TOTAL	5

IVORY

Region	Total
Macedonia	-
N. Aegean	-
Thessaly	-
Central Mainland	-
Euboia	-
E. Aegean	-
Peloponnese	-
Cyclades	-
Cyclades (said to be)	-
Crete	4
TOTAL	4

SHELL

Region	Total
Macedonia	-
N. Aegean	-
Thessaly	-
Central Mainland	-
Euboia	-
E. Aegean	-
Peloponnese	-
Cyclades	4
Cyclades (said to be)	-
Crete	2
TOTAL	6

METAL

Region	Total
Macedonia	-
N. Aegean	-
Thessaly	-
Central Mainland	-
Euboia	-
E. Aegean	-
Peloponnese	-
Cyclades	1
Cyclades (said to be)	-
Crete	-
TOTAL	1

Fig. 40 Percentage of the material represented in the assemblage

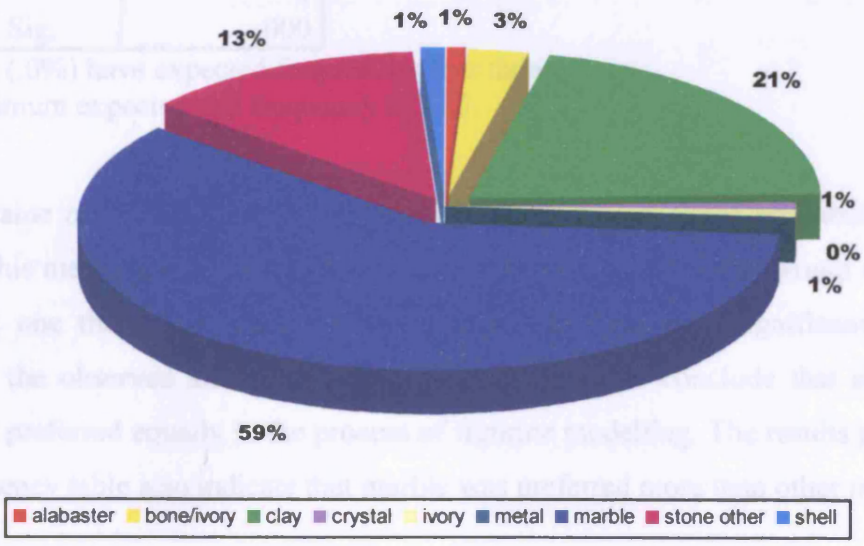


Fig. 41 One-variable, one -tailed χ^2: figurines produced according to material

Frequencies

Material

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Clay	118	56.5	61.5
Marble	339	56.5	282.5
Stone, other	72	56.5	15.5
Alabaster	5	56.5	-51.5
Crystal	5	56.5	-51.5
Bone	10	56.5	-46.5
Bone or Ivory	5	56.5	-51.5
Ivory	4	56.5	-52.5
Shell	6	56.5	-50.5
Metal	1	56.5	-55.5
Total	565		

Test Statistics

	Material
Chi-Square(a)	1811.230
df	9
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is 56.5.

The χ^2 value of 1811.23, DF=4 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.001. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (once in one thousand). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that all materials were not preferred equally in the process of figurine modelling. The results presented in the frequency table also indicate that marble was preferred more than other materials.

Fig. 42 Material by broad chronology according to context (single or 1st table) **and typology** (2nd table) **when applicable**

Clay

EBA (?)	I (?)	Neol-II	I-II	II	II-III	II+ LBA	III	CONT	MBA	LBA	Nk
5	2	1	84	13	-	-	7	5	1	-	-

Neol?	Neol-I	EBA	I(?)	I/II	II(?)	III(?)
-	1	-	3	7	58	5

Marble

EBA (?)	I(?)	Neol-II	I-II	II	II-III	II+ LBA	III	CONT	MBA	LBA	Nk
12	27	-	31	106	48	60	18	22	3	5	8

Neol?	Neol-I	EBA	I (?)	I/II	II (?)	III (?)
-	-	5	73	28	194	10

Stone other (?)

EBA (?)	I(?)	Neol-II	I-II	II	II-III	II+ LBA	III	CONT	MBA	LBA	Nk
4	-	-	14	11	-	7	7	29	1	-	-

Neol?	Neol-I	EBA	I (?)	I/II	II (?)	III (?)
1	-	1	24	6	19	12

na= 9 figurines

Alabaster

EBA (?)	I(?)	Neol-II	I-II	II	II-III	II+ LBA	III	CONT	MBA	LBA	Nk
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-

Neol?	Neol-I	EBA	I (?)	I/II	II (?)	III (?)
-	-	-	-	-	-	5

Crystal

EBA (?)	I (?)	Neol-II	I-II	II	II-III	II+ LBA	III	CONT	MBA	LBA	Nk
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-

Neol?	Neol-I	EBA	I (?)	I/II	II (?)	III (?)
-	-	-	-	4	-	1

Bone (or ivory)

EBA (?)	I (?)	Neol-II	I-II	II	II-III	II+ LBA	III	CONT	MBA	LBA	Nk
5	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	6	-	-	-

Neol?	Neol-I	EBA	I (?)	I/II	II (?)	III (?)
-	-	-	3	2	2	9

Ivory

EBA (?)	I (?)	Neol-II	I-II	II	II-III	II+ LBA	III	CONT	MBA	LBA	Nk
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	-

Neol?	Neol-I	EBA	I (?)	I/II	II (?)	III (?)
-	-	-	-	-	2	1

na= 1 figurine

Shell

EBA (?)	I (?)	Neol-II	I-II	II	II-III	II+ LBA	III	CONT	MBA	LBA	Nk
-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	2	-	-	-

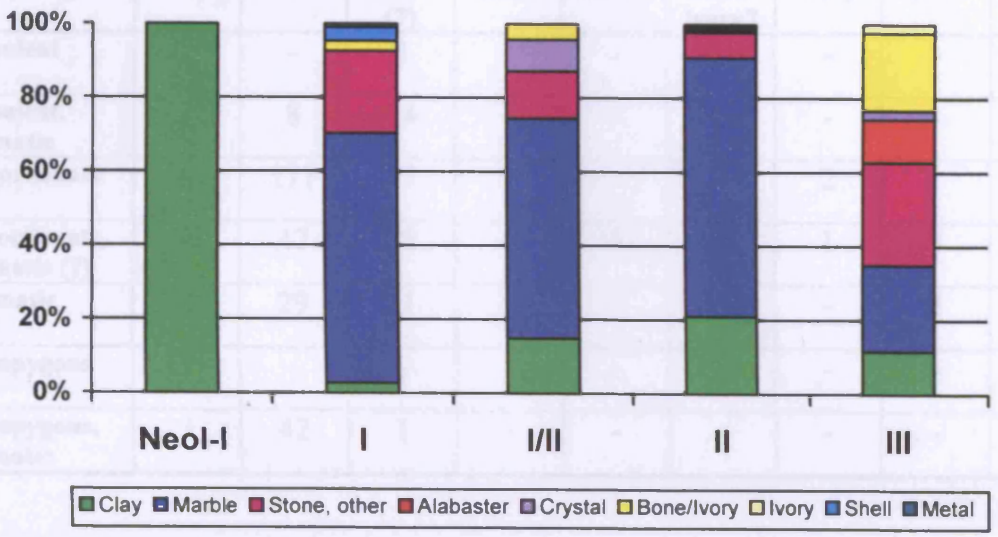
Neol?	Neol-I	EBA	I (?)	I/II	II (?)	III (?)
-	-	-	4	-	2	-

Metal

EBA (?)	I (?)	Neol-II	I-II	II	II-III	II+ LBA	III	CONT	MBA	LBA	Nk
-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Neol?	Neol-I	EBA	I (?)	I/II	II (?)	III (?)
-	-	-	1	-	-	-

Fig. 43 Material according to broad chronological phases based on typology



* Figurines identified as general EBA are not included.

Fig. 44 Material according to type of site

Material	BS (?)	BS/ CS	BS/ OS	BS/ Snct?	CS	OS (?)	OS/ snct?	Nk
Clay	2	-	-	-	2	114	-	-
Marble	243	1	5	14	-	32	31	13
Stone (?)	52	1	1	-	-	11	-	7
Alabaster	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Crystal	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bone (or ivory)	1	5	-	1	-	4	-	4
Ivory	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shell	4	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
Metal	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Fig. 45 Material according to typology of the represented body

Typology	clay	mrbl	stone (?)	alab.	crystal	bone/ ivory?	ivory	shell	metal
Corpulent	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Corpulent, schematic	8	8	14	-	-	1	-	-	-
Proportionate	8	177	17	-	-	2	2	1	1
Proportionate, schematic (?)	59	47	28	5	5	12	1	3	-
Schematic	8	29	11	-	-	-	-	2	-
Steatopygous	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Steatopygous, schematic	3	42	1	-	-	-	-	-	-

Fig. 46 Use of material in relation to 'sexed' figurines *only*

CLAY

'SEX'	Total
F	23
PF	2
Fform	7
Pfform	3
M	1
PM	-
Asexual	47
Pasexual	17
Ambiguous	1
na	17

MARBLE

'SEX'	Total
F	141
PF	7
Fform	46
Pfform	-
M	4
PM	1
Asexual	64
Pasexual	12
Ambiguous	5
na	59

STONE, other

'SEX'	Total
F	4
PF	4
Fform	8
Pfform	-
M	-
PM	2
Asexual	51
Pasexual	1
Ambiguous	-
na	1

ALABASTER

'SEX'	Total
F	-
PF	-
Fform	3
Pfform	-
M	-
PM	-
Asexual	2
Pasexual	-
Ambiguous	-
na	-

CRYSTAL

'SEX'	Total
F	-
PF	-
Fform	-
Pfform	-
M	-
PM	-
Asexual	5
Pasexual	-
Ambiguous	-
na	-

BONE or IVORY

'SEX'	Total
F	-
PF	-
Fform	-
Pfform	1
M	-
PM	-
Asexual	5
Pasexual	-
Ambiguous	-
na	-

IVORY

'SEX'	Total
F	1
PF	-
Fform	1
Pfform	1
M	-
PM	-
Asexual	-
Pasexual	-
Ambiguous	-
na	1

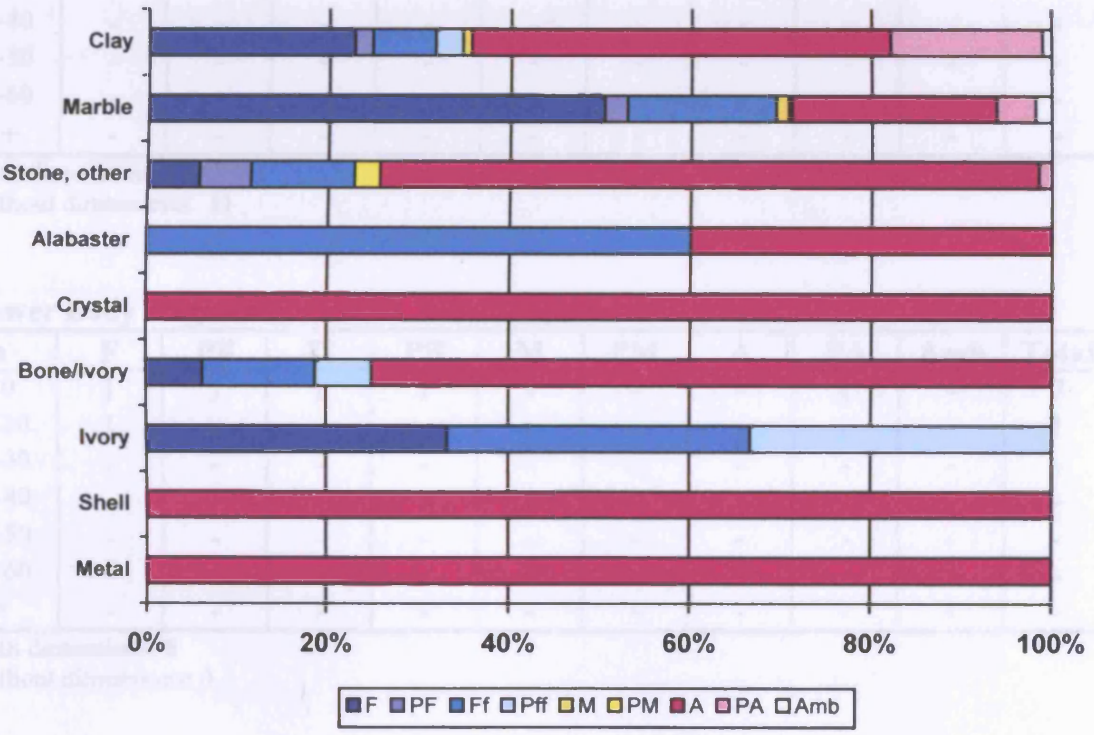
SHELL

'SEX'	Total
F	-
PF	-
Fform	-
Pfform	-
M	-
PM	-
Asexual	6
Pasexual	-
Ambiguous	-
na	-

METAL

'SEX'	Total
F	-
PF	-
Fform	-
Pfform	-
M	-
PM	-
Asexual	1
Pasexual	-
Ambiguous	-
na	-

Fig. 47 Percentage of 'sex' categories in relation to material



* Excludes the "na" category.

Fig. 48 Dimensions of figurines in relation to 'sex' categories

Complete

cm	F	PF	Ff	Pff	M	PM	A	PA	Amb	Total
1-10	29	4	47	-	-	1	133	2	-	216
11-20	33	4	7	-	-	1	18	-	-	63
21-30	26	-	2	-	1	-	3	-	1	33
31-40	5	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	8
41-50	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	4
51-60	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2

With dimensions: 380
Without dimensions: 38

Upper Body, Upper Body and part of Lower fragments

cm	F	PF	Ff	Pff	M	PM	A	PA	Amb	Total
1-10	22	1	2	1	-	-	6	23	2	59
11-20	14	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	18
21-30	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	4
31-40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
41-50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
51-60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
61+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

With dimensions: 87
Without dimensions: 11

Lower Body fragments

cm	F	PF	Ff	Pff	M	PM	A	PA	Amb	Total
1-10	1	3	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	7
11-20	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
21-30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
31-40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
41-50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
51-60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
61+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

With dimensions: 8
Without dimensions: 0

Fig. 49 Proportion in percentage of size range of complete figurines *only* (when available)

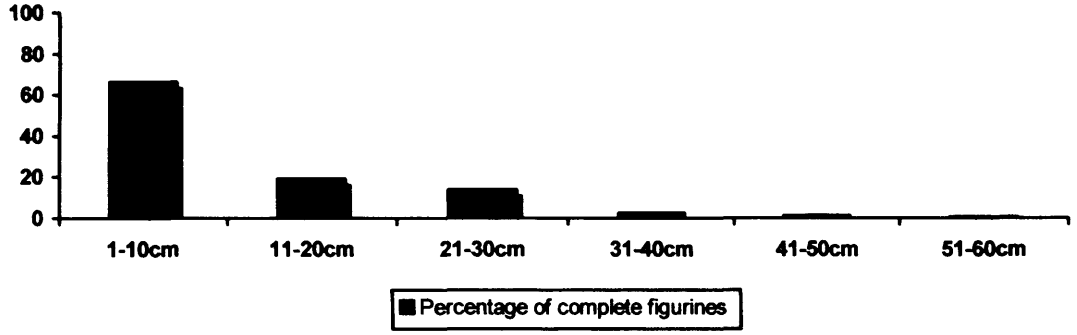


Fig. 50 One-variable, one -tailed χ^2: complete figurines only produced according to dimensions

Frequencies

Dimensions

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
1-10 cm	216	54.3	161.7
11-20 cm	63	54.3	8.7
21-30 cm	33	54.3	-21.3
31-40 cm	8	54.3	-46.3
41-50 cm	4	54.3	-50.3
51-60 cm	2	54.3	-52.3
Total	326		

Test Statistics

	Dimensions
Chi-Square(a)	627.337
df	5
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is 54.3.

The χ^2 value of 627.3, DF=5 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.001. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (once in one thousand). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that all dimensional ranges were not preferred equally in the process of figurine modelling. The results presented in the frequency table also indicate that the dimensional range of 1-10 cm was preferred more than other ranges.

Fig. 51 Percentage of 'sex' categories according to size range from complete 'sexed' figurines *only*

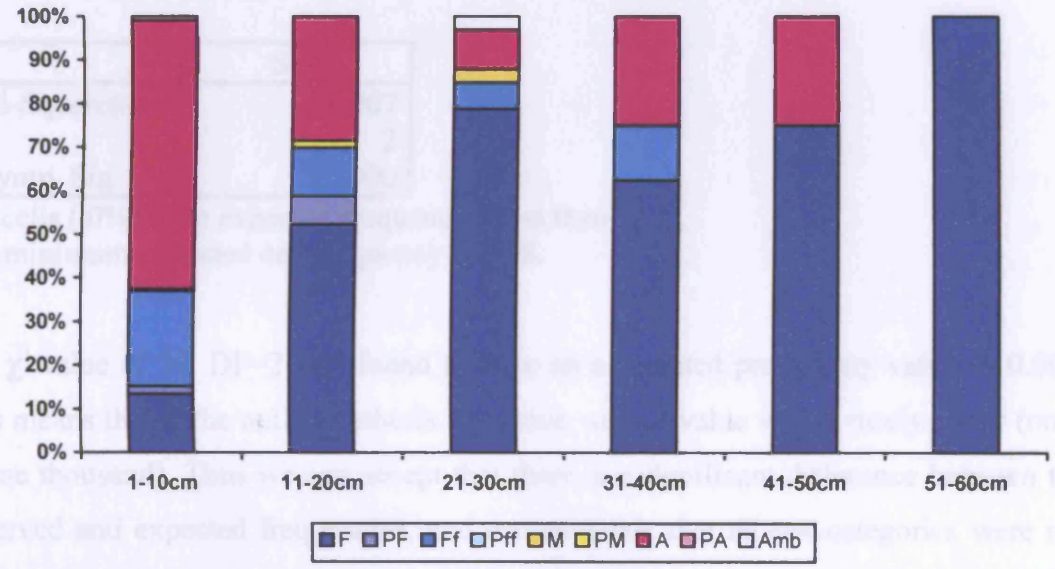


Fig. 52 One-variable, one -tailed χ^2: sex categories measuring 1-10cm

Frequencies

Sex *

	Observed N	Expected N**	Residual
Female	29	83.4	-54.4
Female form	47	32.8	14.2
Asexual	133	92.8	40.2
Total	209		

* Probable categories are not included in the analysis.

** The expected frequencies are based on the number of figurines per sex category. For instance, as the number of Female figurines (170) accounts for 39.9% of the whole sexed sample, we would expect that Female figurines measuring between 1-10cm would also represent 39.9% of the sample (209), i.e. 83.4.

Test Statistics

	Sex
Chi-Square(a)	59.007
df	2
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is 32.8.

The χ^2 value of 59, DF=2 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.001. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (once in one thousand). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that all sex categories were not preferred equally for the size range 1-10cm. The results presented in the frequency table also indicate that Female form and Asexual categories numbered more figurines between 1-10cm than expected given the number of figurines per sex category.

Fig. 53 Complete 'sexed' figurines over 20cm height according to broad chronology and area of recovery

(the typological date has been used when contextual information is not precise enough)

'Sex' Category	Date	Area	Total
F	Typol. 2, EB I Typol. 1, EB I/II 18, EB II Typol. 13, EB II 10, EB II-III	Cyclades Cyclades Cyclades Cycl:9, Cr:3, Eub:1 Cyclades	44
PF	-	-	-
Ff	Typol. 1, EB I 1, EB II 1, EB II-III	Cyclades Cyclades Cyclades	3
Pff	-	-	-
M	1, EB II	Cyclades	1
PM	1, EB II-III	Cyclades	1
A	4, EB I 1, EB I/II 2, EB II	Crete Crete CM : 1, Cycl :1	7
PA	-	-	-
Amb	1, EB I 1, EB II-III	Cyclades Cyclades	2

Fig. 54 One-variable, one -tailed χ^2: sex categories measuring over 20cm

Frequencies

Sex*

	Observed N	Expected N**	Residual
Female	44	22.4	21.6
Female form	3	8.8	-5.8
Male	1	.7	.3
Asexual	7	24.9	-17.9
Ambiguous	2	.2	1.8
Total	57		

* Probable categories are not included in the analysis.

** The expected frequencies are based on the number of figurines per sex category. For instance, as the number of Female figurines (170) accounts for 38.90% of the whole sexed sample, we would expect that Female figurines measuring between over 20cm would also represent 38.90% of the sample (57), i.e. 22.4.

Test Statistics

	Sex
Chi-Square(a)	55.882
df	4
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a 2 cells (40.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is .2.

The χ^2 value of 56, DF=4 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.001. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (once in one thousand). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that all sex categories were not preferred equally for the size range of over 20cm. The results presented in the frequency table also indicate that the Female category numbered more figurines over 20cm than expected in contrast to other categories.

Fig. 55 One-variable, one -tailed χ^2: figurines measuring over 20cm according to chronological phase

Frequencies

Date

	Observed N	Expected N*	Residual
EB I	9	11.1	-2.1
EB I-II	2	12.8	-10.8
EB II	35	22.2	12.8
EB II-III	13	12.8	.2
Total	59		

* The expected frequencies are based on the number of excavated sites per phase. For instance, as the number of EB I sites (19) accounts for 16.24% of all excavated sites (117), we would expect that the EB I figurines measuring over 20cm would also represent 16.24% of the sample (59), i.e. 11.1.

Test Statistics

	Date
Chi-Square(a)	16.926
df	3
Asymp. Sig.	.001

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is 11.1.

The χ^2 value of 17, DF=3 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.001. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (once in one thousand). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that all phases have not produced an equal number of figurines measuring equally over 20cm. The results presented in the frequency table also indicate that the majority of figurines measuring over 20cm date to the EB II phase.

Fig. 56 One-variable, one -tailed χ^2: figurines measuring over 20cm according to provenance

Frequencies

Region

	Observed N	Expected N*	Residual
C. Mainland	1	5.6	-4.6
Euboia	1	3.6	-2.6
Cyclades	38	23.1	14.9
Crete	8	15.7	-7.7
Total	48		

* The expected frequencies are based on the number of excavated sites of each region. For instance, as the number of C. Mainland sites (6) accounts for 7.4% of all excavated sites (81), we would expect that figurines over 20cm recovered from C. Mainland would also represent 7.4% of the sample (48), i.e. 5.6.

Test Statistics

	Region
Chi-Square(a)	19.033
df	3
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a 1 cells (25.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is 3.6.

The χ^2 value of 19, DF=3 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.001. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (once in one thousand). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that all regions have not produced an equal number of figurines measuring equally over 20cm. The results presented in the frequency table also indicate that the majority of figurines measuring over 20cm were produced in the Cyclades.

Fig. 57 Summary of the variety in which anatomical parts were modelled

Anatomical Parts	Modelling Repertoire
Breasts	modelled (?) not modelled (?) nipples
Abdomen	flat flat; flesh fold (s) flat; navel flesh fold (s) not modelled rounded rounded; flesh fold (s) rounded; flesh fold (s); navel rounded; navel swollen swollen; flesh fold (s) swollen; flesh fold(s); navel swollen-pregnancy; flesh fold
Hips	accentuated not accentuated not modelled slightly accentuated
Buttocks	modelled rounded accentuated not modelled
Pubic Area	covered pubic triangle pubic triangle and vulva (?) penis (?) V-shaped (?) V-shaped and vulva vulva not modelled

*The question-mark has been used for cases when the identification of the modelled attribute encombasses a degree of uncertainty.

Fig. 58 'Sex' categories and a selection of the range of modelling for anatomical attributes

F

Breasts	Abdomen	Hips	Buttocks	Pubic area
modelled:156	flat:90	accentuated:65	accentuated:4	pubic triangle:56
not modelled:9	rounded:19	slightly accentuated:1	rounded:6	pubic triangle and vulva:12
	swollen (?):16	not accentuated:58	modelled:21	V-shaped:49
	swollen-pregnancy:1		not modelled:5	V-shaped & vulva:15
	navel:5			vulva (?):28
				not modelled:41

PF

Breasts	Abdomen	Hips	Buttocks	Pubic area
not modelled (?):8	flat:9	accentuated:6	accentuated:1	pubic triangle:1
	swollen (?):2	not accentuated:6	rounded:2	V-shaped:11
			modelled:1	vulva:1
				not modelled:1

Fform

Breasts	Abdomen	Hips	Buttocks	Pubic area
modelled:1	flat:62	accentuated:65	not modelled:12	V-shaped:3
not modelled:64	rounded:2	not accentuated (?):1		not modelled:63

Pfform

Breasts	Abdomen	Hips	Buttocks	Pubic area
not modelled:2	flat:2	accentuated:4	-	not modelled:2
	swollen:1			
	swollen, navel:1			

M

Breasts	Abdomen	Hips	Buttocks	Pubic area
not modelled:5	flat:5	accentuated:1	accentuated:1	penis (?):7
	navel:1	not accentuated:4	rounded:1	
			modelled:1	
			not modelled:1	

PM

Breasts	Abdomen	Hips	Buttocks	Pubic area
not modelled:3	flat:3	accentuated:1	modelled:2	penis?:2
		not accentuated:1		not modelled:1

Asexual

Breasts	Abdomen	Hips	Buttocks	Pubic area
not modelled:185	flat:179	accentuated:9	rounded:6	V-shaped?:7
	rounded:3	not accentuated: 167	modelled:4	covered:1
		not modelled:1	not modelled:65	not modelled:180

PA

Breasts	Abdomen	Hips	Buttocks	Pubic area
not modelled:1	flat:20	accentuated:2	not modelled:1	not modelled:4
nipples:25		not accentuated:6		

Amb

Breasts	Abdomen	Hips	Buttocks	Pubic area
modelled:4	flat:2	accentuated:2	accentuated:1	penis ?:4
	rounded:1	not accentuated:1	modelled:2	
	navel:1			

* The question-mark has been used for cases when the identification of the modelled attribute encombasses a degree of uncertainty.

** This figure presents a narrower range in comparison to Fig. 5.40, since I have excluded some variations that I have not considered as relevant for the study of gender-specific aspects of figurine modelling.

Fig. 59 The range of postures presented by figurines

Basic posture	Arm(s), Hands(s)	Legs	Comments	Total
'STANDING'	(all arm/hand postures)		(all standing figurines)	433
	"flautist"	("standing")		1
	"kourotrophos"	("standing")		1
	arms raised			5
	arms extended			49
	arms folded below breasts			25
	arms folded below breast area			1
	arms folded on chest			4
	arms folded on abdomen			106
	arm folded on abdomen			1
	arm stumps			1
	hand on abdomen, arm raised			1
	arm on abdomen, arm on chest			1
	arm on abdomen, hand on chest			1

Basic Posture	Arm(s), Hands(s)	Legs	Comments	Total
SEATED (?)			(all seated figurines)	5
	arms folded below breasts			2
	arms folded on abdomen			1

Basic Posture	Arm(s), Hands(s)	Legs	Comments	Total
SEATED ON CHAIR			(all seated on chair figurines)	2
			"harpist"	1
	arms folded below breasts			1

Basic Posture	Arm(s), Hands(s)	Legs	Comments	Total
SEATED ON STOOL			(all seated on stool figurines)	11
	"harpists"			5
	arms folded below breasts			4
	arms folded on chest			1
	arm raised	feet crossed	holding a cup?	1
	arm raised, hand on harp			1

Basic Posture of upper body fragments only	Total
Arms raised	4
Arms extended	15
Arms folded below breasts	2
Arms folded on abdomen	2
Arm between breasts, arm on abdomen	1
Bearer, arms on abdomen	1

General category	Total
Bearer	1
Kourotrophos	1
Flautist	1
Harpist	6
Group arrangement	2

Fig. 60 Grouped range of postures in relation to geographical area (presented in alphabetical order)

Posture	Area	Total
'Standing'	Macedonia	5
	N. Aegean	4
	Thessaly	21
	Central Mainland	13
	Euboia	14
	E. Aegean	39
	Peloponnese	14
	Cyclades (?)	326
	Crete	97
Seated (?)	Macedonia	-
	N. Aegean	-
	Thessaly	-
	Central Mainland	-
	Euboia	2
	E. Aegean	-
	Peloponnese	1
	Cyclades (?)	13
	Crete	2
Seated on chair	Macedonia	-
	N. Aegean	-
	Thessaly	-
	Central Mainland	-
	Euboia	-
	E. Aegean	-
	Peloponnese	-
	Cyclades (?)	2
	Crete	-
Seated on stool	Macedonia	-
	N. Aegean	-
	Thessaly	-
	Central Mainland	-
	Euboia	2
	E. Aegean	-
	Peloponnese	-
	Cyclades (?)	8
	Crete	1

Arms raised (all)	Macedonia	-
	N. Aegean	-
	Thessaly	-
	Central Mainland	-
	Euboia	1
	E. Aegean	8
	Peloponnese	-
	Cyclades (?)	1
	Crete	2
Arms extended (all)	Macedonia	2
	N. Aegean	-
	Thessaly	7
	Central Mainland	4
	Euboia	-
	E. Aegean	20
	Peloponnese	14
	Cyclades (?)	14
	Crete	3
Arms folded below breasts (all)	Macedonia	-
	N. Aegean	-
	Thessaly	-
	Central Mainland	-
	Euboia	1
	E. Aegean	
	Peloponnese	-
	Cyclades (?)	30
	Crete	3
Arms folded on abdomen (all)	Macedonia	-
	N. Aegean	-
	Thessaly	-
	Central Mainland	1
	Euboia	7
	E. Aegean	-
	Peloponnese	1
	Cyclades (?)	67
	Crete	35
Arms on abdomen (all)	Macedonia	-
	N. Aegean	-
	Thessaly	-
	Central Mainland	-
	Euboia	-
	E. Aegean	-
	Peloponnese	-
	Cyclades (?)	-
	Crete	1

Hands (meet) on chest (all)	Macedonia	-
	N. Aegean	-
	Thessaly	-
	Central Mainland	-
	Euboia	
	E. Aegean	1
	Peloponnese	-
	Cyclades (?)	42
	Crete	3
Hands (meet) on Abdomen (all)	Macedonia	-
	N. Aegean	-
	Thessaly	-
	Central Mainland	-
	Euboia	
	E. Aegean	5
	Peloponnese	2
	Cyclades (?)	8
	Crete	7
Hands on waist (all)	Macedonia	-
	N. Aegean	2
	Thessaly	-
	Central Mainland	1
	Euboia	-
	E. Aegean	5
	Peloponnese	-
	Cyclades (?)	1
	Crete	-
Bearer	Macedonia	-
	N. Aegean	-
	Thessaly	-
	Central Mainland	-
	Euboia	-
	E. Aegean	-
	Peloponnese	-
	Cyclades (?)	-
	Crete	1
Kourotrophos ?	Macedonia	-
	N. Aegean	-
	Thessaly	-
	Central Mainland	-
	Euboia	-
	E. Aegean	-
	Peloponnese	-
	Cyclades (?)	1
	Crete	-

Flautist	Macedonia	-
	N. Aegean	-
	Thessaly	-
	Central Mainland	-
	Euboia	-
	E. Aegean	-
	Peloponnese	-
	Cyclades (?)	1
	Crete	-
Harpist	Macedonia	-
	N. Aegean	-
	Thessaly	-
	Central Mainland	-
	Euboia	-
	E. Aegean	-
	Peloponnese	-
	Cyclades (?)	6
	Crete	-
Group arrangement	Macedonia	-
	E. Aegean	-
	Thessaly	-
	Central Mainland	-
	Euboia	-
	E. Aegean	-
	Peloponnese	-
	Cyclades (?)	1
	Crete	1

Fig. 61 Range of posture in relation to broad chronology and type of site

POSTURE	SITE-TYPE	EB DATE	TOTAL
'Standing'	OS	N-I?, 1 I, 19 I/II, 2 I-II, 2 II, 40 III, 8	107
	BS	I, 55 I/II, 17 II, 78 III, 19	199
	BS/CS	I, 2 I/II, 4 III, 7	13
	BS/sanctuary?	I, 1 I/II, 1 II, 8 III, 1	13
	OS/sanctuary?	I, 2 II, 10	12
Seated (?)	OS (?)	II, 1	2
	BS	II, 1	1
Seated on chair	BS	II, 1	1
	BS/sanctuary?	II, 1	1
Seated on stool	BS (?)	I/II, 1 II, 10	11
Arms raised (all)	OS	II, 7	9
Arms extended (all)	OS	I/II, 2 II, 27 III, 6	51
	BS (?)	I, 1 I/II, 7 III, 4	12
	CS	-	1
Arms folded on abdomen (all)	OS	II, 2	2
	BS (?)	I, 1 I/II, 2 II, 65 III, 7	74
	BS/CS	III, 5	5
	BS/sanctuary	II, 1	1

	OS/sanctuary?	II, 6	6
Arms folded below breasts (all)	OS	II, 1	1
	BS (?)	I/II, 1 II, 29	30
	BS/sanctuary?	II, 1	1
Arms on abdomen (all)	OS	II, 1	1
	BS	Na	1
	OS/sanctuary?	II, 1	1
Hands (meet) on chest (all)	OS	II, 1	1
	BS (?)	I, 38 II, 3 III, 1	42
	OS/sanctuary?	I, 1	1
Hands (meet) on abdomen (all)	OS	II, 6 III, 1	8
	BS (?)	I, 6 I/II, 2 II, 1 III, 4	13
	BS/OS	I, 1	1
Hands on waist (all)	OS	I, 2 I/II, 1 II, 4	7
	BS	II, 1	1
	CS	II, 1	1
Bearer	BS	na	1
Kourotrophos?	OS	na	1
Flautist	BS	II, 1	1
Harpist	BS	II, 2	2
	BS?	II, 3	3
	BS/sanctuary?	II, 1	1

Group arrangement	BS?	II	1
	BS	II	1

Fig. 62 Range of postures related to 'sex' category

POSTURE	'SEX'	TOTAL
'Standing'	F	145
	PF	13
	Ff	67
	Pff	2
	M	1
	PM	2
	A	183
	PA	7
	Amb	6
Seated (?)	F	1
	PF	-
	Ff	-
	Pff	-
	M	1
	PM	-
	A	1
	PA	-
	Amb	-
Seated on chair	F	1
	PF	-
	Ff	-
	Pff	-
	M	1
	PM	-
	A	-
	PA	-
	Amb	-
Seated on stool	F	4
	PF	-
	Ff	-
	Pff	-
	M	2
	PM	1
	A	4
	PA	-
	Amb	-

POSTURE	'SEX'	TOTAL
Arms raised (all)	F	1
	PF	-
	Ff	-
	Pff	-
	M	-
	PM	-
	A	6
	PA	2
	Amb	-
Arms extended (all)	F	11
	PF	1
	Ff	8
	Pff	1
	M	-
	PM	-
	A	32
	PA	10
	Amb	1
Arms folded on abdomen (all)	F	78
	PF	5
	Ff	4
	Pff	-
	M	-
	PM	-
	A	17
	PA	2
	Amb	3
Arms folded below breasts (all)	F	34
	PF	-
	Ff	-
	Pff	-
	M	-
	PM	-
	A	-
	PA	-
	Amb	-
Arms on abdomen (all)	F	-
	PF	-
	Ff	-
	Pff	-
	M	-
	PM	-
	A	-
	PA	-
	Amb	-

POSTURE	'SEX'	TOTAL
Hands (meet) on chest (all)	F	4
	PF	-
	Ff	34
	Pff	-
	M	-
	PM	-
	A	7
	PA	-
	Amb	-
Hands (meet) on abdomen (all)	F	9
	PF	-
	Ff	5
	Pff	-
	M	-
	PM	-
	A	5
	PA	2
	Amb	1
Hands on waist (all)	F	3
	PF	-
	Ff	1
	Pff	-
	M	-
	PM	-
	A	4
	PA	1
	Amb	-
Bearer	F	-
	PF	-
	Ff	-
	Pff	-
	M	-
	PM	-
	A	-
	PA	1
	Amb	-
Kourotrophos?	F	-
	PF	-
	Ff	-
	Pff	-
	M	-
	PM	-
	A	1
	PA	-
	Amb	-

POSTURE	'SEX'	TOTAL
Flautist	F	-
	PF	-
	Ff	-
	Pff	-
	M	-
	PM	1
	A	-
	PA	-
	Amb	-
Harpist	F	-
	PF	-
	Ff	-
	Pff	-
	M	3
	PM	-
	A	3
	PA	-
	Amb	-
Group arrangement	F, F	1
	A, A	-

Fig. 63 Percentage of decorated and undecorated figurines

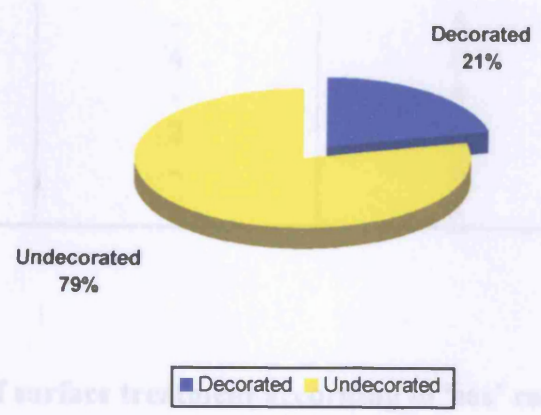


Fig. 64 Percentage of decorated and undecorated figurines of main assemblages by area

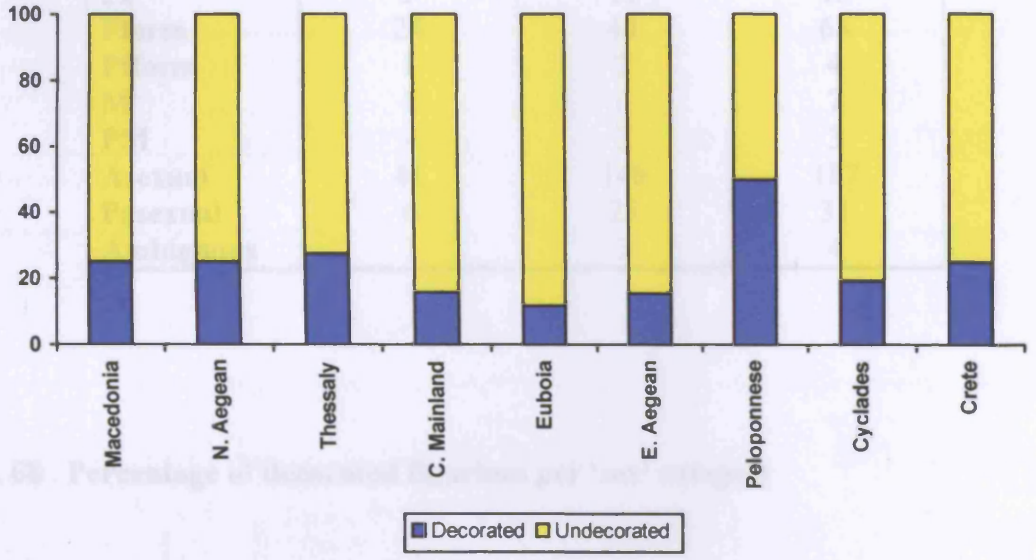


Fig. 65 Material according to presence or absence of decoration

MATERIAL	DECORATED	UNDECORATED	Proportion of decorated figurines
Clay	37	81	31.50%
Marble	65	274	19.20%
Stone (?)	7	66	10%
Alabaster	4	1	80%
Crystal	-	5	-
Bone	4	6	40%
Bone (or ivory)	-	5	-
Ivory	2	2	50%
Shell	-	6	-
Metal	-	1	-

Fig. 66 Method of surface treatment according to 'sex' categories

Method	F	PF	Ff	M	PM	A	PA	Amb	Total
Burnishing	1	2	2	-	-	6	2	-	**13**
Slip	5	4	-	-	-	4	-	-	**13**

Fig. 67 Presence or absence of decoration in relation to 'sexed' figurines

'SEX'	Decorated	Undecorated	Total
F	36	134	170
PF	3	10	13
Fform	24	44	68
Pfform	1	3	4
M	1	6	7
PM	-	3	3
Asexual	41	146	187
Pasexual	6	25	31
Ambiguous	1	3	4

Fig. 68 Percentage of decorated figurines per 'sex' category

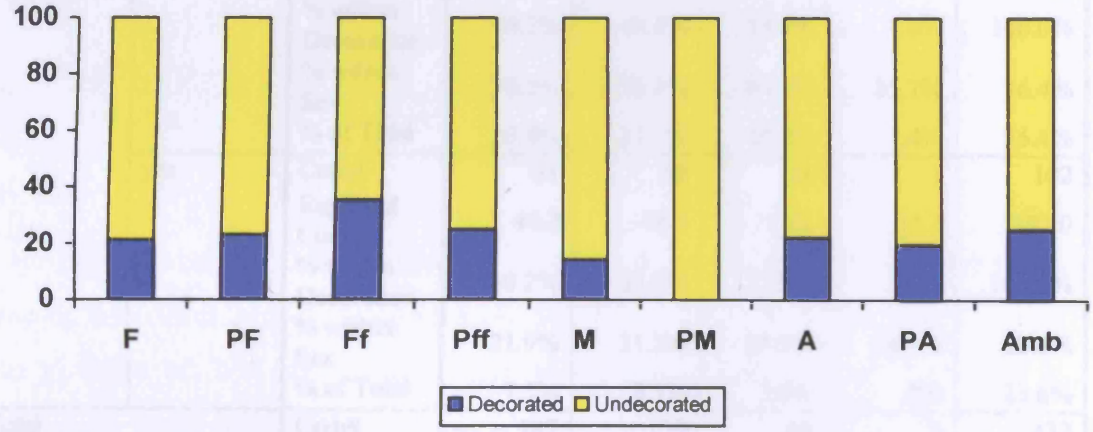


Fig. 69 $r \times c$ χ^2 test of independence: decoration and sex

Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Decoration * Sex	432	100.0%	0	.0%	432	100.0%

Decoration * Sex Crosstabulation

			Sex				Total
			Asexual	Female	Fform	Male	
Decoration	no	Count	146	134	44	6	330
		Expected Count	142.8	129.9	51.9	5.3	330.0
		% within Decoration	44.2%	40.6%	13.3%	1.8%	100.0%
		% within Sex	78.1%	78.8%	64.7%	85.7%	76.4%
		% of Total	33.8%	31.0%	10.2%	1.4%	76.4%
	yes	Count	41	36	24	1	102
		Expected Count	44.2	40.1	16.1	1.7	102.0
		% within Decoration	40.2%	35.3%	23.5%	1.0%	100.0%
		% within Sex	21.9%	21.2%	35.3%	14.3%	23.6%
		% of Total	9.5%	8.3%	5.6%	.2%	23.6%
Total		Count	187	170	68	7	432
		Expected Count	187.0	170.0	68.0	7.0	432.0
		% within Decoration	43.3%	39.4%	15.7%	1.6%	100.0%
		% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	43.3%	39.4%	15.7%	1.6%	100.0%

* This test does not include Ambiguous figurines in order to ensure that no more than 25% of cells have an expected frequency of less than 5.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.337(a)	3	.096
Likelihood Ratio	5.939	3	.115
N of Valid Cases	432		

a. 1 cells (12.5%) have expected count less than 5.
The minimum expected count is 1.65.

Directional Measures(a)

a ETA statistics are available for numeric data only.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.121	.096
	Cramer's V	.121	.096
N of Valid Cases		432	

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.
b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

A *rxc* χ^2 was carried out to discover whether there was a significant relationship between decoration and sex categories.

The χ^2 value of 6.34 had an associated probability value of >0.05 (reported alpha criterion of significance), DF=3, showing that such an association is extremely likely to have arisen as a result of sampling error. (Cramer's V was found to be 0.12 -thus only 1.5% of the variation in frequencies of sex categories can be explained by decoration.) It can therefore be concluded that there is not enough evidence of a relationship in this case.

Fig. 70 Use of colour on motifs according to 'sex' categories

Colour	F	PF	Ff	M	PM	A	PA	Amb	Total
Black	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Blue	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brown	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Brown/red	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Brown-black	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Dark	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Green	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Orange	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Red	5	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	9
White	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
White/red	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Fig. 71 Use of colour on the surface of 'sexed' figurines

Colour	F	PF	Ff	M	PM	A	PA	Amb	Total
Black	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Brown	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Brown-black	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Buff	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cream	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Dark	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Red	4	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	7
White	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	3

Fig. 72 Use of colour in relation to broad chronology

EB I	EB I-II	EB II	EB II-III	EB III
red	red	black	-	black
	white	brown	-	red
		red	-	white
		white	-	

Fig. 73 Use of colour found on selected anatomical parts *only* in relation to broad chronology and 'sex' categories

DATE	Body Part	Colour	'Sex'
EB I	head	red	Ff
EB I-II	-	-	-
EB II	crown	black	na
	hair	black	na
	nose	black	F
	face	red	na
	head	red	F
	face & head	red	F
	neck	red	F
	chest	red	F
EB II-III	-	-	-
EB III	torso	black	F

Fig. 74 Suggested meanings for decorative motifs adorning the body and face *only*

* Motifs shared between Neolithic and EBA figurines are underlined (see also Fig. 6.54)

** (The cross indicates a motif and all its variations)

Body decoration	Clothing	Body decoration or clothing	Jewellery
hsl2+	b4+	csl1	rm7?
pu4	b12+	dil1	rm8
pu18	b14+	hpl3+	rs1+
pu21	b16	sel	rs3+
spl18	b17+	tm1	sch1+
ssl6	cpl1+	vpl5	sch2+
	csl2	vpl6+	
	dil9+	z9	
	dpl24		
	fhd29		
	fhd45		
	g1		
	hd3		
	hd5		
	hd8		
	hd10		
	hdl1+		
	hd12		
	hd13		
	hd14		
	hd20		
	hd21		
	hd22		
	hd23		
	hpl16+		
	hsl6		
	pa16		
	pa17		
	pu25		
	rs5		
	vpl4+		
	vpl7+		
	vpl-hb6		
	z1+		
	z5		

Fig. 75 Motifs and attributes shared between 'sex' categories
(arranged in alphabetical order according to motif code)

Bands decorating the waist

Motif Codes	*Body Part*	*Colour*	*Method*	*'Sex'*	*Frequency*
b4i	waist		inc, ca	Fform	2
b4iv	waist	brown	inc, ca, p	2F, 2PF	4
b4vi	waist, hips		inc	1PF, 1Ff, 1A	3
b16	waist		inc	F	1
b17	hips		ca	F	1

X motif on the trunk

dil9i	torso, 1back	1black, 1brown	inc, ca, p	5F, 1Ff, 3A, 1PA	8
dil9ii	torso		inc	A	1

Diagonal band

dpl24	torso: shoulder-waist	?	ca, inc, p	2F, 1Ff, 1A	4

Modelled hair: pulled up at the base of neck

fhd25	head		pl	1PA, 1na	2

Modelled hair: short locks

fhd26i	head		dr, pl, pu	1F, 2na	3

Modelled hair (or cup?): pulled up as a knob

fhd30	crown-neck	?	ca/p	F, Amb	2

Modelled hair: short

fhd40	head		inc	na	2

Headdress as tied scarf

fhd45	head	?	p	F	2

Apron-like garment

g1	waist-knees		ca	A	2

Modelled cap

hd10	crown		pl	1A, 2PA, 1na	4

Modelled cap

hd11ii	crown		inc, ca	2A, 1PF	3

Modelled cap

Motif Codes	*Body Part*	*Colour*	*Method*	*'Sex'*	*Frequency*
hd14	crown		pl	A	3

Set of parallel lines

hpl19			inc	Ff	2

Horizontal single line

hsl6	waist:front, lower body:front		inc	1F, 3Ff, 2A	6
csl2	waist:fr		inc	A	2

Single ring

rs1i	neck		inc	Ff	1
rs1iii	neck		inc	F	5

Ring motif encircling shoulders

rs5	shoulder (s)		inc	2F, 1PF, 1A, 1na	5

Suspended chevron, "amulet"

sch1i	neck: front, fr&b, neck-waist	red	inc, p	2F, 11Ff, 3A	16
sch1ii	neck: front, fr&b, neck-pubic area		inc	10F, 1PF, 8Ff, 3A, 1M	23

Suspended double chevron, "amulet"

sch2i	neck, neck-mid torso		inc	1Ff, 1A	2

Fig. 76 Use of motifs in relation to symbolism, 'sex' categories, broad chronology and region (motifs shared between the two periods are marked in italics)

Body Decoration

Motif Code	Body Part	'Sex'	Date: broad	Region
pu4	shoulder	PA	EB II	E. Aegean
spl18	shoulder	F	EB II	Crete
pu18	back	A	N-EB I?	Thessaly
pu21	torso:neck-waist	PA	?	Macedonia
hsl2	waist:front	A	EB I/II	Cyclades

Clothing (general attire)

Motif Code	Body Part	'Sex'	Date:broad	Region
fhd45	head	F	EB II	Cyclades
fhd45	head	F	EB II	Cyclades
fhd29	crown	Ff	EB II	Peloponnese
hd10	crown	A	EB II	Crete
hd11+	crown	A	EB II?	Crete
hd11+	crown	A	EB II	Crete
hd11+	crown	PF	EB II	Crete
hd12	crown	A	EB I/II	Cyclades
hd13	crown	F	EB I	Cyclades
hd14	crown	A	EB I	Crete
hd14	crown	A	EB I-II	Crete
hd14	crown	A	EB I-II	Crete
hd8	crown	na	EB II	Crete
b16	neck	F	EB II	E. Aegean
rs5	shoulder	A	EB I-II	C. Mainland
csl2	chest	A	EB III	Crete
csl2	chest	A	EB III	Crete
cpl1	torso:shoulder-waist	A	EB I	E. Aegean
dil9+	torso	A	EB II	E. Aegean
dil9+	torso	A	EB II?	E. Aegean
dil9+	torso	F	EB III?	Peloponnese
dil9+	torso	F	EB III?	Peloponnese
dil9+	torso	F	EB II	Cyclades
dil9+	torso	Ff	EB I	Cyclades
dil9+	torso	PA	EB II	E. Aegean

Motif Code	Body Part	'Sex'	Date:broad	Region
dil9+	torso, back	A	EB II	E. Aegean
dil9+	torso, back	F	EB II	E. Aegean
vpl-hb6	torso	na	EB II	Crete
cpl1	torso:shoulder-waist	A	EB I	E. Aegean
dpl24	torso:shoulder-waist	F	EB II	Cyclades
dpl24	torso:shoulder-waist	F	EB II	Cyclades
dpl24	torso:shoulder-waist	Ff	EB I	Cyclades
dpl24	torso:shoulder-waist	A	EB I	Crete
b17	abdomen-hips	F	EB II	E. Aegean
b4+	waist	A	EB II	E. Aegean
b4+	waist	F	?	Peloponnese
b4+	waist	F	EB I	Cyclades
b4+	waist	Ff	EB I	Cyclades
b4+	waist	Ff	EB I	Cyclades
b4+	waist	Ff	EB I	Cyclades
b4+	waist	PF	EB II	Euboia
b4+	waist	PF	EB II	Euboia
b16	waist	F	EB II	E. Aegean
hsl6	waist:front	A	EB III	Crete
hsl6	waist:front	A	EB III	Crete
hsl6	waist:front	Ff	EB III	Crete
hsl6	waist:front	Ff	EB III	Crete
hsl6	waist:front	Ff	EB III	Crete
hsl6	lower body (l.b.):front	F	EB II	E. Aegean
pu25	l.b.-base:front	na	EB I-II	Thessaly
pa16	pubic area	F	EB II	Crete
pa17	pubic area	A	EB III	Crete
pa17	pubic area	A	EB III	Crete
pa17	pubic area	A	EB III	Crete
pa17	pubic area	A	EB III	Crete

Body Decoration or Clothing

csl1	shoulder	F	EB II	Crete
hpl3	torso:chest-waist	Ff	EB I	Cyclades
tm1	torso, back	PA	?	Peloponnese

vpl6	back:upper-mid	PA	EB III?	Macedonia

Motif Code	**Body Part**	**'Sex'**	**Date:broad**	**Region**
vpl5	l.b.-base:front	na	EB I-II?	Thessaly
se1	base	Pff	EB II	Crete
z9	base:front	A	EB I/II	Crete

Jewellery

rs1+	neck:front	Ff	EB I	Cyclades
rs1+	neck	F	EB II	Cyclades
rs1+	neck	F	EB I	Cyclades
rs1+	neck:front	F	EB II	Cyclades
rs1+	neck:front	F	EB II	Cyclades
rs1+	neck:front	F	EB II	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	A	EB II	Crete
sch1+	neck	A	EB II	Crete
sch1+	neck	A	EB I/II	Crete
sch1+	neck	A	EB I	Crete
sch1+	neck	A	EB I	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	F	EB II	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	F	EB I	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	F	EB II	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	F	EB I	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	F	EB II	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	F	EB II	Cyclades?
sch1+	neck	F	EB II	Crete
sch1+	neck	F	EB I	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	F	EB I	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	F	EB I	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	Ff	EB I	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	Ff	EB II?	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	Ff	EB I	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	Ff	EB I	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	Ff	EB I	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	Ff	EB I	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	Ff	EB I	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	Ff	EB I	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	Ff	EB I/II	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	Ff	EB I	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	Ff	EB I	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	Ff	EB I	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	Ff	EB I	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	Ff	EB II	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	Ff	EB I	Cyclades

sch1+	neck	Ff	EB I	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	Ff	EB I	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	Ff	EB I	Cyclades
sch1+	neck	M	EB II	Crete

Motif Code	**Body Part**	**'Sex'**	**Date:broad**	**Region**
sch1+	neck-pubic area	A	EB I/II	Cyclades
sch2+	neck	Ff	EB I	E. Aegean
sch2+	neck	A	EB II	E. Aegean

Fig. 77 One-variable, one-tailed χ^2: attire motifs according to region

Frequencies

Region

	Observed N	Expected N*	Residual
Peloponnese	5	5.1	-.1
Euboia	2	4.0	-2.0
E. Aegean	12	3.0	9.0
Cyclades	11	25.5	-14.5
Crete	25	17.3	7.7
Total	55		

* The expected frequencies are based on the number of excavated sites of each region. For instance, as the number of Macedonian sites (6) accounts for 7.4% of all excavated sites (81), we would expect that body decoration motifs recovered from Macedonia would also represent 7.4% of the sample (55), i.e. 5.1.

Test Statistics

	Region
Chi-Square(a)	39.149
df	4
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a 2 cells (40.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is 3.0.

The χ^2 value of 39.1, DF=4 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.001. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (once in one thousand). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that not all regions have produced the same number of figurines adorned with attire motifs. The results presented in the frequency table also indicate that the E. Aegean and Crete have produced more attire motifs than expected in relation to the number of excavated sites.

Fig. 78 One-variable, one-tailed χ^2: attire motifs according to chronology

Frequencies

Date

	Observed N	Expected N*	Residual
EB I	11	10.5	.5
EB I-II	5	12.0	-7.0
EB II	23	20.7	2.3
EB III	13	8.7	4.3
Total	52		

* The expected frequencies are based on the number of excavated sites per phase. For instance, as the number of EB I sites (19) accounts for 16.24% of all excavated sites (117), we would expect that the attire motifs dated to the EB I phase would also represent 16.24% of the sample (52), i.e. 10.5.

Test Statistics

	Date
Chi-Square(a)	6.457
df	3
Asymp. Sig.	.091

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is 8.7.

The χ^2 value of 6.5, DF=3 was found to have an associated probability value of > 0.05. This means that there are 1 in 20 chances that our patterns resulted due to sampling error and thus we accept the null hypothesis of no difference. More specifically, we conclude that we have no evidence to indicate that different phases have proportionally different values of attire motifs.

Fig. 79 One-variable, one-tailed χ^2: attire motifs according to sex

Frequencies

Sex

	Observed N	Expected N*	Residual
Female	15	18.7	-3.7
Female form	9	7.4	1.6
Asexual	23	20.9	2.1
Total	47		

* The expected frequencies are based on the number of figurines per sex category. For instance, as the number of Female figurines (170) accounts for 39.9% of the whole sexed sample, we would expect that Female figurines adorned with attire motifs would also represent 39.9% of the sample (47), i.e. 18.7.

Test Statistics

	Sex
Chi-Square(a)	1.290
df	2
Asymp. Sig.	.525

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is 7.4.

The χ^2 value of 1.3, DF=2 was found to have an associated probability value of > 0.05. This means that there are 1 in 20 chances that our patterns resulted due to sampling error and thus we accept the null hypothesis of no difference. More specifically, we conclude that we have no evidence to indicate that different sex categories have proportionally different values of attire motifs.

Fig. 80 One-variable, one-tailed χ^2: jewellery motifs according to sex categories

Frequencies

Sex

	Observed N	Expected N*	Residual
Female	15	17.0	-2.0
Female form	20	6.7	13.3
Asexual	7	18.9	-11.9
Male	1	.5	.5
Total	43		

* The expected frequencies are based on the number of figurines per sex category. For instance, as the number of Female figurines (170) accounts for 39.44% of the whole sexed sample, we would expect that Female figurines measuring adorned with jewellery motifs would also represent 39.44% of the sample (43), i.e. 17.

Test Statistics

	Sex
Chi-Square(a)	34.673
df	3
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a 1 cells (25.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.
The minimum expected cell frequency is .5.

The χ^2 value of 35, DF=3 was found to have an associated probability value of 0.001. This means that if the null hypothesis were true, such a value would rarely occur (once in one thousand). Thus we can accept that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies, and can conclude that not all sex categories have produced the same number of figurines adorned with jewellery motifs. The results presented in the frequency table also indicate that the Female form category numbered more figurines with jewellery motifs than expected in contrast to other categories.

Fig. 81 Motifs and attributes shared between Neolithic and EBA figurines

1. Bands decorating the waist

	Code	Body part	Common Colour	'Sex'	Frequency
Same motif	b4iv, b4vi	waist waist, hips	-	PF 1PF, 1A	2 2
Neolithic variations	b4ii-vi, b12i-ii, b14i-ii	waist waist waist	- - -	15F, 5PF, 3Ff, 1M, 1PM, 3A, 1Amb 1PF, 1A 1Ff, 1A	29 2 2
EBA variations	b4i	waist	-	Ff	2

2. Horizontal line ("belt")

	Code	Body part	Common Colour	'Sex'	Frequency
Same motif: Neolithic	hsl2i	waist: fr, b, fr&b	-	6F, 4A, 1Ff, 1PF	12
Same motif: EBA	hsl2i	waist: fr	-	A	1
Neolithic variations	hsl2ii	waist:b	-	F	1
EBA variations	-	-	-	-	-

3. Band at hip level

	Code	Body part	Common Colour	'Sex'	Frequency
Same motif	-	-	-	-	-
Neolithic variations	b17ii	hips	-	A	1
EBA variations	b17i	hips	-	F	1

4. Mirror sets of double curvilinear lines in diagonal arrangement

	Code	Body part	Common Colour	'Sex'	Frequency
Same motif	-				
Neolithic variations	cpl1i-iv	torso, back		3F, 1PF, 1Ff, 1A	6
EBA variations	cpl1vi	torso		A	1

5. X motif on the torso

	Code	Body part	Common Colour	'Sex'	Frequency
Same motif: Neolithic	dil9i	torso, back	brown	4F, 1PA	5
Same motif: EBA	dil9i	torso, back		3F, 2A, 1Ff, 1PA	7
Neolithic variations	dil1	torso		F	1
EBA variations	dil9ii	torso		A	1

6. Modelled hair : pulled up above the neck base

	Code	Body part	Common Colour	'Sex'	Frequency
Same motif: Neolithic	fhd36	hair	-	2F, 3na	5
Same motif: EBA	fhd36	hair	-	na	1
Neolithic variations	-	-	-	-	-
EBA variations	-	-	-	-	-

7. Short hair

	Code	Body part	Common Colour	'Sex'	Frequency
Same motif: Neo	fhd40	hair	-	F	1
Same motif: EBA	fhd40	hair	-	na	2
Neolithic variations	-	-	-	-	-
EBA variations	-	-	-	-	-

8. Modelled conical hat

	Code	Body part	Common Colour	'Sex'	Frequency
Same motif: Neolithic	hd10	crown	-	PA	1
Same motif: EBA	hd10	crown	-	1A, 2PA, 1na	4
Neolithic variations	hd3	crown	-	PA	1
	hd7i	crown	-	2F, 6na	8
	hd7ii	crown	-	na	2
	hd8	crown	-	na	1
	hd14	crown	-	na	1
	hd19i	crown	-	na	1
	hd21	crown	-	A	1
	hd23	crown	-	PA	1
EBA variations	hd8	crown	-	na	1
	hd12	crown	-	A	1
	hd14	crown		A	3
	hd19ii	crown		na	1

9. Modelled flat hat

	Code	Body part	Common Colour	'Sex'	Frequency
Same motif: Neolithic	hd11	crown	-	na	1
Same motif: EBA	hd11	crown	-	2A, 1PF, 1na	4
Neolithic variations	hd5	crown	-	na	1
	hd20	crown	-	F	1
	hd22	crown	-	na	1
EBA variations	hd13	crown	-	F	1
	hd17	crown	-	na	1

10. Parallel multiple lines in horizontal arrangement

	Code	Body part	Common Colour	'Sex'	Frequency
Same motif: Neolithic	hpl16ii	lower body, hips	-	F	3
Same motif: EBA	hpl16ii	buttocks	-	PA	1
Neolithic variations	hpl16i	lower body: fr-sides	-	PF	1
	hpl16iii	lower body: fr, fr&b	-	1F, 1A	2
	hpl16iv	mid torso-base	-	Ff	1
	hpl16v	lower body: fr&b	-	PF	1
	hpl16vi	neck-base	-	PA	1
EBA variations	-	-	-	-	-

11. Single, double or multiple rings

	Code	Body part	Common Colour	'Sex'	Frequency
Same motif: Neolithic	rs1i	neck	-	6F, 1Ff, 2A, 2PA, 1na	12
Same motif: EBA	rs1i	neck	-	Ff	1
Neolithic variations	rs1ii	neck	-	A	1
	rs1iv	torso:upper	-	F	1
	rs1v	torso:upper	-	PA	1
	rs1vi	torso:upper	-	F	1
EBA variations	rs1iii	neck	-	F	5

	Code	Body part	Common Colour	'Sex'	Frequency
Same motif: Neolithic	rd2i	neck	-	7F, 3A, 1PA, 2na, 1ni	14

Same motif: EBA	rd2i	neck	-	na	1
Neolithic variations	rd2ii	neck	-	A	1
	rd2iii	neck	-	1F, na	2
EBA variations	-	-	-	-	-

12. Single or multiple rings

	Code	Body part	Common Colour	'Sex'	Frequency
Same motif: Neolithic	rs3i	wrist(s)	-	1F, 1PF, 1A, 1na	4
Same motif: EBA	rs3i	elbow	-	na	1
Neolithic variations	rs3ii	wrist	-	PF	1
	rm7	wrist	-	3F, 1Ff	4
EBA variations	-	-	-	-	-

13. Ring motif encircling shoulders

	Code	Body part	Common Colour	'Sex'	Frequency
Same motif: Neolithic	rs5	shoulders: fr, b, fr&b	-	4PF, 2A	6
Same motif: EBA	rs5	shoulders: fr, b, fr&b	-	2F, 1PF, 1A, 1na	5
Neolithic variations	-	-	-	-	-
EBA variations	-	-	-	-	-

14. Suspended chevron, "amulet"

	Code	Body part	Common Colour	'Sex'	Frequency
Same motif: Neolithic	sch1i	neck: fr, fr&b, neck-waist	-	2F, 11Ff, 3A	16
	sch1ii	neck:fr, b, fr&b	-	3F, 2PF, 2Ff, 1M, 3PA, 2na	13
Same motif: EBA	sch1i	neck:fr, fr&b, neck-waist	-	3F, 1PF, 2Ff, 2A, 1PA, 1na	10
	sch1ii	neck: fr, fr&b, neck-pubic area	-	10F, 8Ff, 1PF, 1M, 3A	23
Neolithic variations	sch1iii	neck: fr	-	F	1
	sch1iv	neck: fr, b	-	F	1
	sch1v	nack:neck-mid	-	Ff	1
	sch1vi	neck: fr	-	F	1
EBA variations	-	-	-	-	-

15. Suspended double chevron, "amulet"

	Code	Body part	Common Colour	'Sex'	Frequency
Same motif: Neolithic	sch2i	neck: fr, fr&b	-	2F, 1Ff, 2A, 1PA	6
Same motif: EBA	sch2i	neck, torso:neck-mid	-	1Ff, 1A	2
Neolithic variations	sch2ii	neck: fr, fr&b	-	1F, 1A	2
	sch2iii	neck:fr	-	F	2
	sch2iv	neck:fr	-	na	1
	sch2v	neck:fr	-	F	1
EBA variations	-	-	-	-	-

16. Vertical long parallel lines, beard ?

	Code	Body part	Common Colour	'Sex'	Frequency
Same motif: Neolithic	spl7	neck	-	1F, 2PM	3
Same motif: EBA	spl7	torso: upper:fr	-	A	1
Neolithic variations	-	-	-	-	-
EBA variations	-	-	-	-	-

17. Multiple parallel vertical lines

	Code	Body part	Common Colour	'Sex'	Frequency
Same motif: Neolithic	vpl6i	back: upper-mid	-	Ff	1
Same motif: EBA	vpl6i	back: upper-mid	-	PA	1
Neolithic variations	vpl6ii See also Neolithic motifs: vpl4i-iii, vpl5, vpl6i-ii, vpl7i-iv	torso: neck-waist	-	PA	1
EBA variations	-	-	-	-	-

18. Wavy multiple vertical lines: hair?

	Code	Body part	Common Colour	'Sex'	Frequency
Same motif: Neolithic	vpl11iii	neck:fr&b	black	F	1
Same motif: EBA	vpl11iii	neck (hair)	black	na	1
Neolithic variations	vpl11i	back: upper-lower	-	PF	1
	vpl11ii	back: upper-lower	-	F	1
EBA variations	-	-	-	-	-

19. Zigzag (on chest)

	Code	Body part	Common Colour	'Sex'	Frequency
Same motif: Neolithic	z1vi	hips:fr	-	A	1
Same motif: EBA	z1vi	abdomen	-	na	1
Neolithic variations	z1i	chest	-	A	1
	z1ii	waist:fr	-	F	1
	z1iii	abdomen	-	F	1
	z1iv	waist:fr	-	na	1
	z1v	abdomen	-	PF	1
	See also Neolithic motif: z5				
EBA variations	-	-	-	-	-

Appendix H

Chapter 7: Illustrations

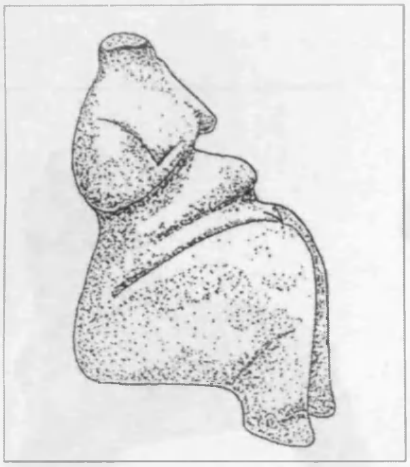


Fig.1 EN Female figurine from with postural emphasis on the breasts (Prodromos)
Source: Orphanidi 1998, Pl. 31

Fig. 2 MN Male figurine seated on a chair (Sesklo)
Source: Theocharis 1973, Pl. 37

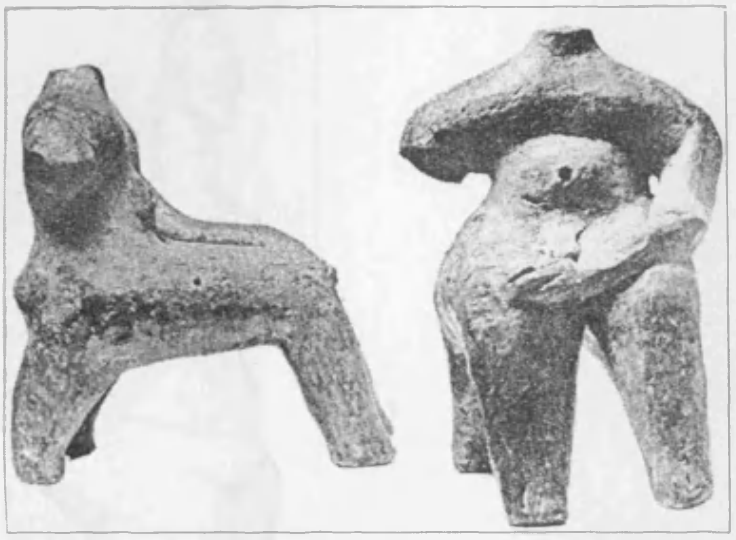


Fig. 3 EN Ambiguous pregnant seated figurine (Tsani Magoula)
Source: Hourmouziades 1973, Pl. 9

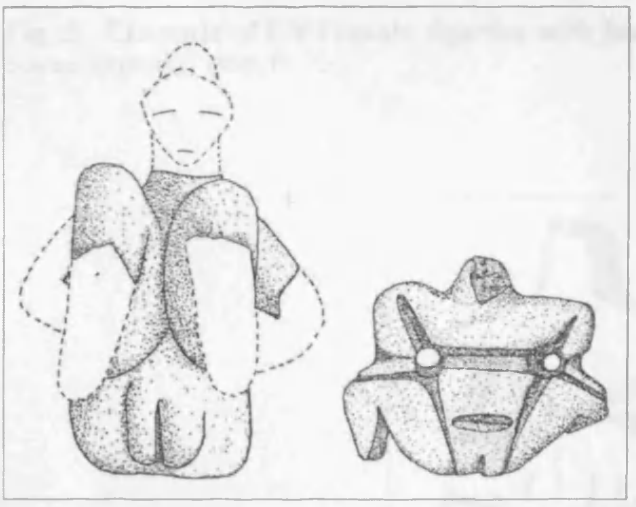


Fig. 4 Earlier Neolithic birth-giving postures from Thessaly (Magoula Panagou, left; Achilleion, right)
Source: Orphanidi 1998, Pl. 36

Fig. 5 Example of EN Female figurine with body painting or tattooing motif (Sparta)
Source: Orphanidi 1998, Pl. 75

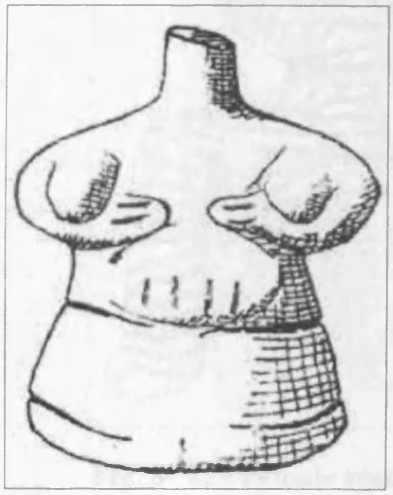


Fig. 6 MN "Pregnant" female figurine (Tsangli)
Source: Wace & Thompson 1912, Fig. 73

Fig. 7 LN Male figurine with postural emphasis on the genitals (Larisa)
Source: Orphanidi 1998, Pl. 53

Fig. 8 LN Female seated kourotrophos (Sesklo)
Source: Orphanidi 1998, Pl. 52

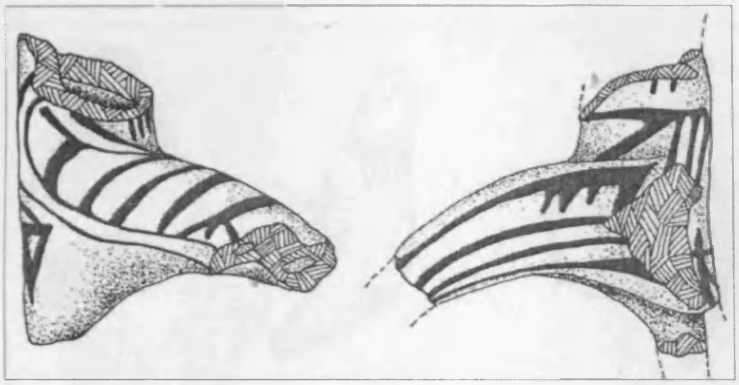


Fig. 9 LN Female seated figurine (Sitagroi)
Source: Renfrew et al 1986, Fig. 9.14

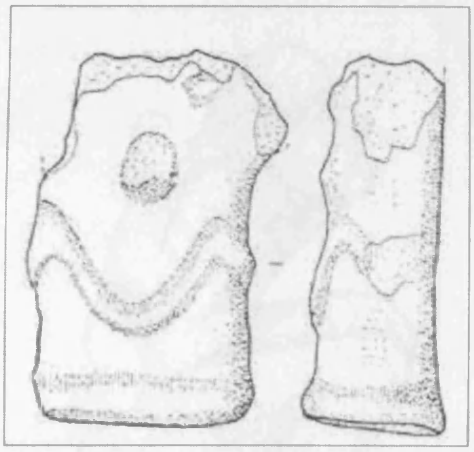


Fig. 10 LN Asexual "pregnant" figurine (Paradimi)
Source: Bakalakis & Sakellariou 1981, Pl. XLV, 5

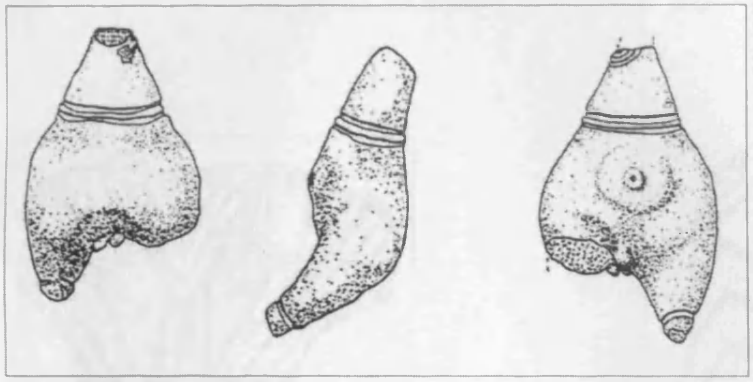
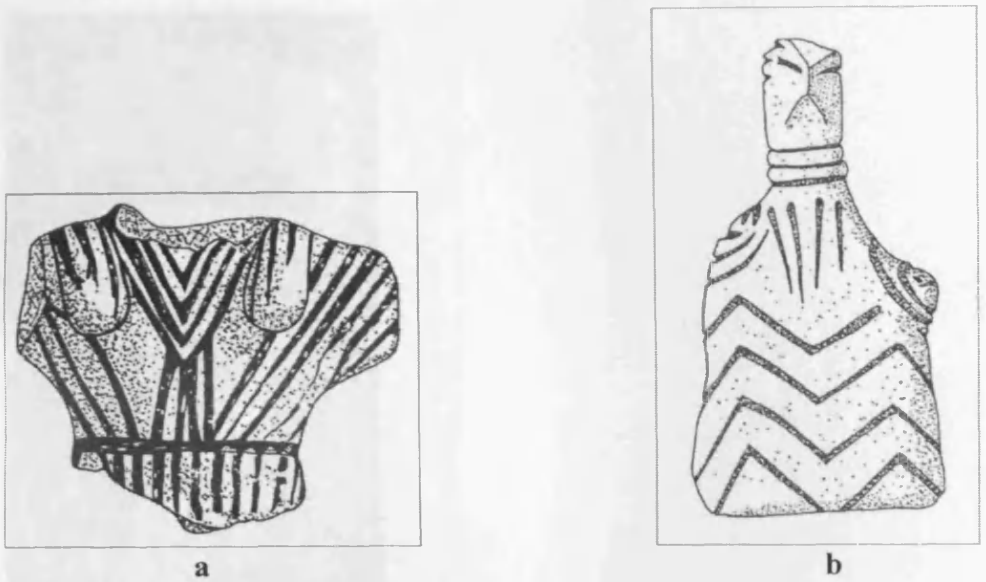


Fig. 11 LN Ambiguous pregnant figurine (Dimitra)
Source: Marangou 1997, Pl. 67, c

Fig. 12 LN Asexual kourotrophos (Cyclades)
Source: Orphanidi 1998, Pl. 73 (a)



a b

Fig. 13 'Clothed' Female (a) and Asexual (b) figurines (a: Franchthi, LN; b: Sitagroi, LN)
Source: Orphanidi 1998, Pl. 89, Pl. 9

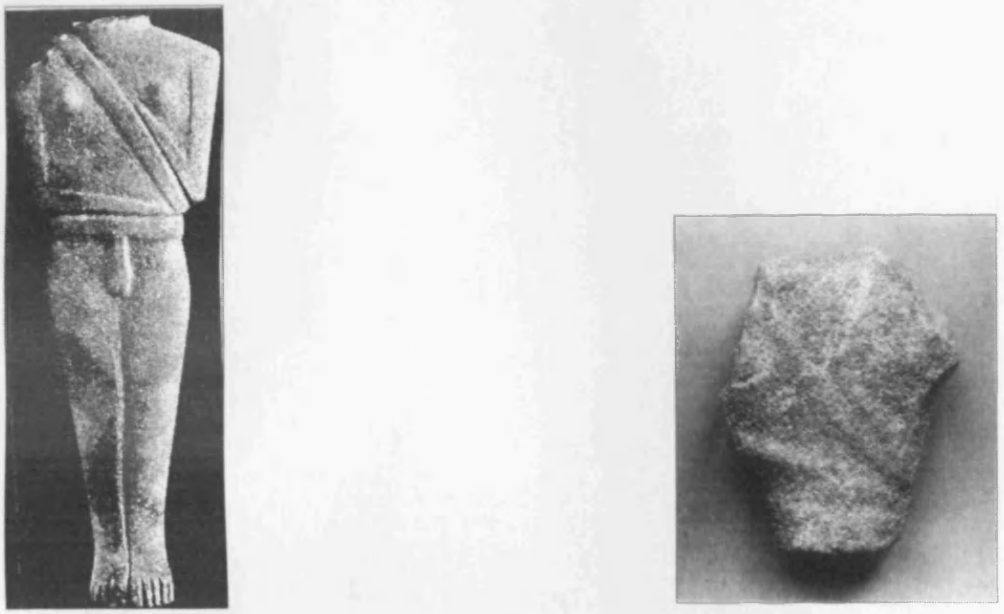
Fig. 14 EC II Female 'pregnant' figurine from Naxos
Source: Marangou 1990, Pl. 158

Fig. 15 EC II Female figurine with 'post-pregnancy' abdominal marks (Keos)
Source: Caskey 1971, Pl. 19

Fig. 16 EC II Female seated figurine (Aplomata)
Source: Marangou 1990, Pl. 15

Fig. 17 EC II Asexual "musician" (said to be from Thera)
Source: Thimme 1977, Pl. 255

Fig. 18 Drawing of male "hunter-warrior"
Source: Fitton 1989, Pl. 69



a b

Fig. 19 Female figurines with the 'baldric' motif (a: Syros, EC II; b: A. Eirini, Keos, EC II)
Source: Zervos 1957, Pl. 253; Caskey 1974, Pl.40

a b

Fig. 20 Asexual "clothed" figurines (a: Thermi, EB II), (b: Koumasa, EM III)
Source: Lamb 1936, Pl. XX; Xanthoudides 1924, Pl. IV, XXI

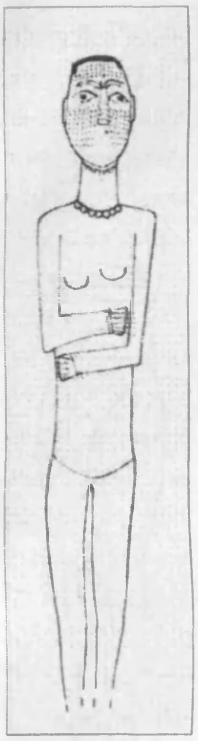


Fig. 21 Example of represented diadem on Cycladic figurine
Source: Broodbank 2000, Fig. 11

Fig. 22 Example of jewellery motif (Thermi, E. Aegean)
Source: Lamb 1936, Pl. XX

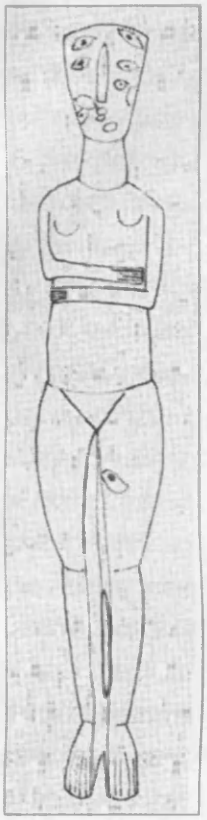


Fig. 23 Symbolic decoration detected through ultraviolet reflectography
Source: Broodbank 2000, Fig. 11 (left)